

The Midwest Quarterly

A JOURNAL OF CONTEMPORARY THOUGHT

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A JOURNAL OF CONTEMPORARY THOUGHT, is published by the Kansas State College of Pittsburg in January, April, July and October.

THE OBJECTIVE of the editors of THE MIDWEST QUARTERLY is to discover and publish scholarly articles dealing with a broad range of subjects of current interest. In no way competing with the more specialized journals, THE MIDWEST QUARTERLY seeks discussions of an analytical and speculative nature rather than heavily documented research studies.

THE EDITORS will be glad to examine manuscripts from all who are interested in submitting them. It should be pointed out that, ideally, these manuscripts should not exceed five thousand words in length, that they treat subjects of contemporary significance, and that they be interesting and readable.

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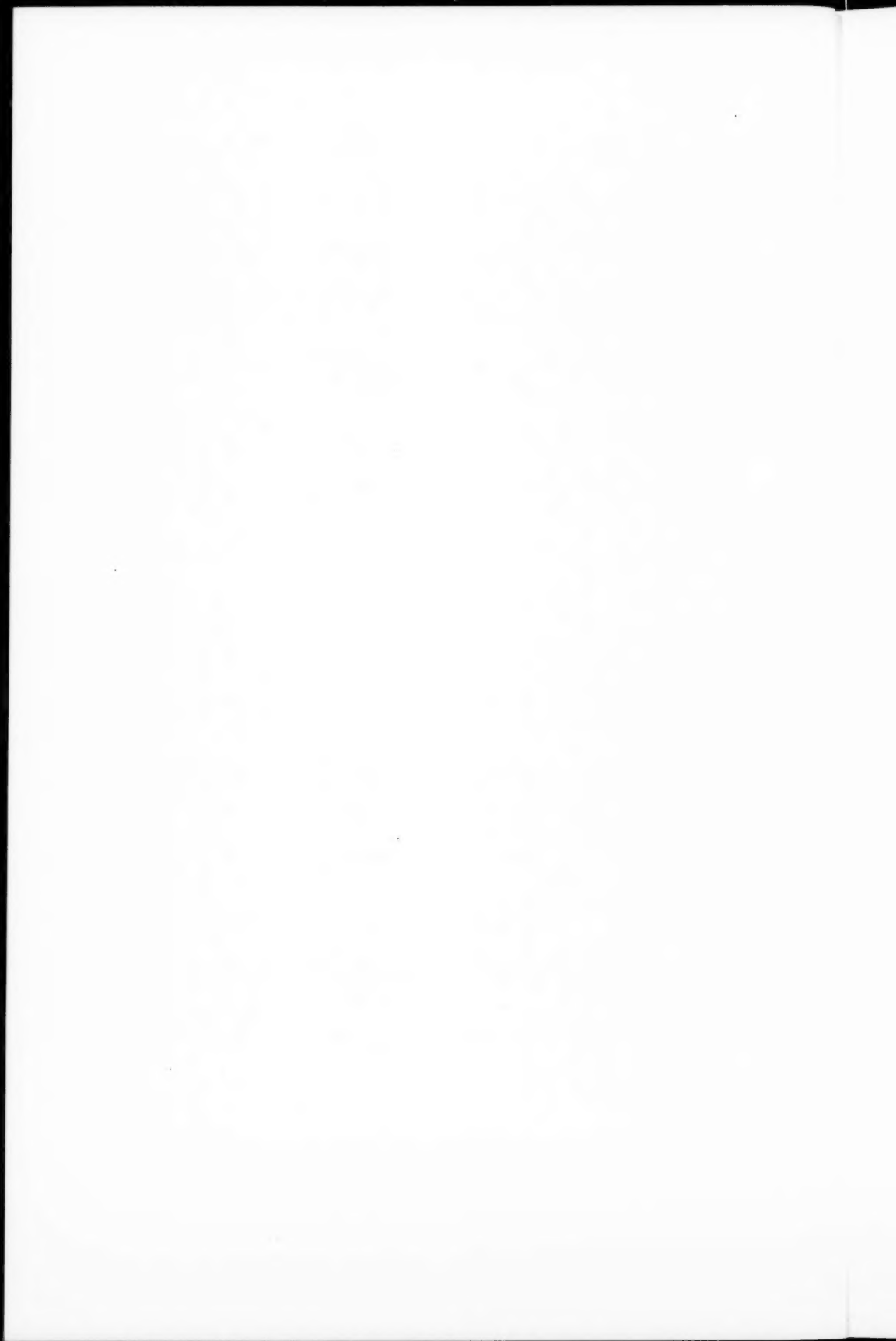
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“admirable, excellent, superb”

PERHAPS MORE MODEST editors would have left this page blank and gone right ahead with the preparation of the important manuscript material for which the printer is waiting impatiently. It seems to us, however, that our readers have a right to know what reception this publication is enjoying. Certainly, if the editors were to keep the correspondence in a file drawer, few would be the eyes to behold it. Perhaps our point of view is best expressed in the immortal words of the late Mr. Dooley, who, in an incisive column discussing the benevolence of Andrew Carnegie, put these words in the mouth of the great steel-maker: “Modesty compels me to say nawthin’ on this occasion, but I am not to be bulldozed!”

It is with some satisfaction that we record below the opinions of a few of the readers of our first issue.

“This is a good magazine.”

“So far I have read the first two articles and find them most interesting. The entire issue is very attractive. I heard Walton’s excellent paper in Denver.”

“First issue is EXCELLENT. I am glad to enclose money order for subscription.”

“I have read the articles and feel this publication is what some of us have been waiting for. We are ordering the magazine for our library . . . I was able to use two articles immediately and the rest will be used next semester.”

“The first issue of THE MIDWEST QUARTERLY looks OK and I am glad to see that you are getting it started. To show my support for the project, please accept my check for a year’s subscription . . . With a contemporary knowledge of sky-rocketing publishing costs I’m sure that you have turned out an excellent product. However, I note many blank pages at the end of articles and I wonder (I’m a skin-flint at heart) if these could not be utilized in some way through the use of fillers, notes, comments, etc. I’m sure the editor could find something to fit these spaces.”

“The first number of THE MIDWEST QUARTERLY is superb. It is well edited, the articles have good quality, and the format is handsome. Keep up the good work.”

While these sentiments are heartening indeed, the brightest star in our crown was placed there by Miriam T. Ellison, managing edi-

tor of *Best Articles & Stories*, who wrote us a fortnight ago to request permission to reprint two of the six articles appearing in our first issue. The articles so honored are Clyde Walton's "Recent Civil War Writing," and Richard C. Welty's "Are the States Obsolete?" Readers who are unfamiliar with *Best Articles & Stories* ought to know that this magazine has been published in Bloomington, Indiana, for just over two years, and has done a rather fine job of selecting and reprinting significant articles, stories, verse, and cartoons from such publications as *The American Scholar*, *The Yale Review*, *Punch*, and *The Virginia Historical Quarterly*, to name only a few.

Acute readers have found the source of "excellent" and "superb" and by this time are wondering if "admirable" is a figment of the editorial mind. In a manner of speaking, it is. In its lead editorial on November 4, the Wichita (Kansas) *Beacon* referred to Alvin H. Proctor's article, "Power Factors in Kansas Constitutional Revision," in what the *Beacon* called "the new, admirable Midwest Quarterly." The Wichita paper quoted rather extensively from Dean Proctor's article, expressing urban approval of his basic findings; the editorial bore the significant title, "Our Rural Rulers."

in this issue . . .

FEW AMERICANS who have not visited Canada, our closest friend and ally to the north, have much appreciation for the fact that Canada is a separate and distinct sovereign nation, broad in expanse, magnificent in her natural endowments, and peopled with far more than red-coated members of the Royal Northwest Mounted Police. It was the editor's privilege to visit the provinces of British Columbia and Alberta in the summer of 1957 as director of a field trip whose personnel were basically Kansans, many of them school teachers in the Sunflower State. It was little short of a revelation for him to discover that most of his fellow field-trippers looked upon Canada as a sort of colonial possession of the United States with rather primitive accommodations for tourists and quaint "play money" which for some inexplicable reason was worth more than genuine American currency. Remembering this experience, the editor was quick to take advantage of the opportunity to publish a discussion of Canadian-American relations by a Montreal lawyer with long experience and many connections with business, professional, and social groups in the United States.

Paul Phelps Hutchison, Queen's counsel and partner in the Montreal law firm of Heward, Holden, Hutchison, Cliff, McMaster, and Meighen, has held many offices in the Canadian Bar Association and was its president in 1956. President and director of four Canadian companies, he is also a governor of the Montreal General Hospital, and in 1958 he became international president of the Alpha Delta Phi, one of the oldest American social fraternities with chapters in three Canadian universities, British Columbia, McGill, and Toronto. Mr. Hutchison's degrees include: bachelor of arts, McGill, 1916, and doctor of laws from the same university in 1921; honorary doctor of laws from Southern Methodist University and honorary doctor of civil law, McGill. He is a veteran of World War I, and a member of the Royal Highlanders of Canada in which he holds the rank of colonel.

THE SECOND ARTICLE in this issue moves some seven thousand miles from Canada for its locale. Fred L. Parrish, professor of history at Kansas State University, spent a recent sabbatical leave traveling and studying in nine Asian countries. His special field of interest is Asian history, and his offerings at Manhattan include Far Eastern

History, Indian and Southeast Asian History, and History of Religions. His article on the *kokutai* of Japan is related to his experiences in that country in 1958.

Professor Parrish holds the bachelor and master of arts degrees from Northwestern University, a bachelor of divinity degree from Garrett Graduate Seminary, and a doctor of philosophy degree from Yale. A member of the history faculty of Kansas State University since 1927, he was Head of the Department of History, Government, and Philosophy from 1942 to 1958. His article was prepared and presented as a paper at the 1959 meeting of the Kansas Association of Teachers of History and Related Fields, held at St. Benedict's College in Atchison.

WHILE IT IS CUSTOMARY among Americans to take a rather condescending view of the Oriental tendency to revere the past, it is interesting to note how frequently Americans look backward and with what gusto we repeatedly celebrate all manner of anniversaries. This year, for example, Americans are called upon to observe the fiftieth anniversary of the death of the great American literary figure Samuel Clemens, more widely known as Mark Twain. Last October the executive committee of the Central Mississippi Valley chapter of the American Studies Association met in Hannibal, Missouri, to make preliminary plans for a special celebration to take appropriate notice of Mark Twain's death in April of 1910. This year is also the 125th anniversary of the birth of Hannibal's most famous son, and one supposes that suitable celebrations will mark that event, too.

Among those present at the Hannibal meeting last October was John Q. Reed, associate professor of American literature here, and it seemed timely to the editorial board of THE MIDWEST QUARTERLY to publish in this first 1960 issue Professor Reed's careful analysis of Mark Twain's apprenticeship on the West Coast. John Reed's particular field of interest is native American humor; he has published a number of articles on Artemus Ward, an American humorist who preceded Mark Twain and to whom Mark Twain owed a considerable debt, particularly in his techniques as a comic lecturer. Professor Reed is a naturalized Midwesterner; born and reared in the Keystone state, he holds the bachelor's degree from Pennsylvania State Teachers College at Slippery Rock and the master's from the University of Pittsburgh. He moved out to the State University of Iowa for his doctoral work and joined the faculty of Kansas State College of Pittsburg in 1955 after teaching at Buena Vista College in Iowa.

THE FOURTH ARTICLE in this issue of THE MIDWEST QUARTERLY discusses a subject which is anything but humorous. The problems of full-employment and inflation have bothered many thinking Americans for the last quarter century and more, and in recent years and months the subjects have cropped up wherever economists, labor leaders, industrialists, or politicians gather together. We are happy to present Professor Morris L. Stevens' close scrutiny of the question "Is Full Employment Possible Without Inflation?" because it carefully, fully, and objectively covers the subject.

Dr. Stevens, associate professor of economics, received his A. B. degree from Houghton College, New York, and his LL. B. and M. A. degrees from the University of Wisconsin. Last June he completed the work for and was awarded the doctor of philosophy degree in economics at Wisconsin. He is a member of the American Economic Association, the Wisconsin Bar Association, and the American Association of University Professors. Last summer Senator William Proxmire of Wisconsin requested Dr. Stevens' assistance in making an evaluation of current monetary policies of the federal reserve system and particularly of the relation of these policies to inflation and the level of employment. Out of this work and his earlier research Dr. Stevens has collected the material for the article here published. It was originally presented in October as the first of the 1959-60 series of Great Issues Lectures sponsored by the Department of Social Science.

BECAUSE OF WIDE-SPREAD PUBLIC INTEREST in the best-selling novel, *The Ugly American*, the editors of THE MIDWEST QUARTERLY months ago decided to recruit a squad of reviewers who possessed some overseas experience in widely separated geographical areas. By great good fortune, a University of Colorado Bulletin announcing the University's first Alumni Institute last July informed us that Earl Swisher, professor of Far Eastern history, was lecturing on *The Ugly American* as part of the program. A letter to Professor Swisher resulted in quick and amiable cooperation.

Few native Americans have had more personal contact with the Far East than Earl Swisher. Born and brought up in Palisades, Colorado, he worked for his bachelor and master of arts degrees at the University of Colorado and his doctor of philosophy degree at Harvard. He has been a member of the University of Colorado history faculty since 1935 but before that time and since he has been a frequent visitor and full-time student of the Far East. From 1931 to '34 he was a Harvard-Yenching Fellow; he taught four

years at Lingnan University, Canton, China; he held Rockefeller Research Fellowships in Peiping in 1937-38 and 1947-48, and in 1956-58 was a representative of The Asia Foundation, traveling over all of East Asia. From 1942 to '46 he served with the United States Marine Corp, participating in five amphibious landings and winning the Bronze Star Medal with commendation; his present rank is lieutenant colonel, USMCR-Ret. Since the war he has been Director of the Institute of Asian Affairs at the University of Colorado.

THE SECOND VIEW of American foreign policy and *The Ugly American* is by Hans Beerman, assistant professor of foreign languages here, who is already well known to QUARTERLY readers by virtue of his article, "Hermann Hesse and the Bhagavad-Gita," which appeared in our October issue. Born and raised in Germany, widely traveled in Europe and Asia, Professor Beerman holds his bachelor's degree from the University of Illinois and his master's and doctor of philosophy degrees from Iowa State University.

"Friendly Neighbours"

Some Thoughts on Canadian-American Relations

PAUL PHELPS HUTCHISON

UNTIL RECENT YEARS the population of Canada was small compared to that of many other nations. Public speakers, referring to the relations between Canada and the United States, were then inclined to emphasize the many similarities between the two countries and their peoples and the long three thousand miles of undefended frontier between them; it was then considered an example to the rest of the world of how two separate nations could exist side by side as friendly neighbours for more than a century.

During the two World Wars, however, Canada came of age and an important country in its own right. Its population rose until today it is a nation of nearly eighteen million people, still but a tenth of its great neighbour but comparable nevertheless to many others whose voice must be heard in world affairs. At the same time its industrial development increased by leaps and bounds, until now it ranks as the fourth trading nation of the world and competes with the United States in many respects. Canada and the United States now are each other's best customers, the annual trade between them being a matter of more than seven billion dollars. No other two countries in the world exchange so great a volume of merchandise. Canada's trade per capita is now four times that of the United States and the highest in the world.

With two such great industrial nations living, working, and producing side by side and competing, inevitably difficulties arise between them. It therefore becomes all the

more necessary that their two peoples should understand one another, each appreciating sympathetically the point of view of the other. Both should be anxious to continue to the full the historic Good Neighbour Policy which has long existed between them. As problems do arise it is important to realize the different characteristics of Canada and the United States. Canadian public speakers in recent years have, therefore, stressed such differences rather than the similarities, not in a spirit of anti-Americanism but rather in one of pro-Canadianism.

Rightly or wrongly, it is believed in Canada that Canadians know the United States much better than the average American does Canada. With a population only one-tenth of that in the United States, Canadian tourists to the U. S. A. spend there each year some eighty million dollars more than Americans do in visiting Canada. Moreover, many Canadians have close ties of blood with Americans. The present writer went overseas during the First World War with a Battalion of Highlanders of The Black Watch; he was one of seven officers in that unit, out of thirty-five, who had American mothers. Canadians read the better known American newspapers and periodicals, listen to American broadcasts, watch American television programmes and even study American history. Americans, it is said, take Canada too much for granted. The comparatively recent report of the Special Mission to Canada of the Congressional Foreign Affairs Committee pointed out that the difficulties between the two countries were largely caused by American ignorance of Canadian affairs. But alas! that report was hardly referred to in the American press—even *The New York Times* buried the story on a deep inside page. (In Canada the press published the report prominently in full.) On an official level, however, this report had the result of the setting up of a joint Canadian-United States Interparliamentary Committee to con-

sider mutual problems, yet there were some in Congress who strongly opposed the paltry grant of \$30,000 for the work of this Committee.

Many Americans are perhaps inclined to think of Canada more or less as an appendage of the U. S. A.; it does not occur to them to inform themselves about Canada as an independent entity. Not so long ago, for example at an eastern American college only one student in a class—he was, moreover, a foreign exchange student—was able to name “Ottawa” as the capital of Canada. As a result of such indifference Canadians visiting the United States are sometimes asked the most extraordinary questions concerning Canada’s colonial status, the taxes it pays to England and why it has not abandoned the monarchical system by joining the U. S. A.

How many average Americans realize it is now nearly a century since Canada was a group of British Colonies? Canada is a self-governing Dominion of the British Commonwealth of Nations, which Canadians believe is the greatest most-workable united nations or league of nations the world has ever seen; they are proud of their independence and of their share in the Commonwealth. Canada has had self-government only half as long as has the United States but, as former Prime Minister St. Laurent said:

The Commonwealth relationship has created in all its members a habit of understanding and co-operation which makes it easier for our nations and our governments, whether inside or outside the Commonwealth to further whatever common interests we may have.

Canada’s partnership in the Commonwealth and two World Wars have brought many of its citizens into a close personal contact with many individuals of other races, creeds and colours. With such contacts have come understanding and appreciation of the aspirations of many different peoples. Canadians also appreciate with respect the long and intimate experience which Britain has had in world affairs with peoples of all races. In addition, for some

generations now, Canadian statesmen have worked closely within the Commonwealth and Empire with the native leaders of the Middle East, Africa, India, Ceylon and the Far East. Canadian views on foreign affairs, therefore, come from practical knowledge and experience.

Canada has never paid any taxes to Britain, not even while it was still a group of colonies. Perhaps, when those colonies became British in 1760, England was too busy trying to enforce taxation in the American colonies to attempt to do so on the meagre population of Canada. In fact it was the British taxpayer who paid for Canada's protection and British troops who protected Canadians. To the latter, therefore, "the Redcoats" of American school history books became protectors rather than feared aggressors. In 1950 the Canadian Minister of Justice stressed this fact at Washington when he said:

Canada during most of her early history was defended by British troops and was protected, as well as all free nations, by the British fleet, paid for by the British taxpayer.

Perhaps it is not generally understood in the United States that the only remaining tie between Britain and Canada is that of choice on the part of the Canadians. Canadian allegiance is borne not to the Queen of England but to the Queen of Canada who just happens as well to be Queen of England and of other self-governing nations.

The Canadian and American Governments are very similar, but there are some fundamental differences. Instead of an elected President as their Head of State, Canadians are proud and quite content to have their Queen, acting through her viceroy, the Governor-General of Canada, and acting Head of State chosen by the Canadian Government. The last two Governors-General have been native Canadians, the one a distinguished English-speaking citizen of Canada and the other a gallant French-Canadian soldier of wide experience in foreign affairs. Canadians prefer to have their country run by an elected Prime Min-

ister and his Government, under a parliamentary system more or less similar to what developed in Britain down the centuries.

Canada takes no orders from England. When its support for British action is sought it is not given if Canadian views differ from those in the United Kingdom. Notable examples of this were the Chanak Incident of 1922 and the more recent Suez Crisis. In the former the United Kingdom was on the brink of war with Turkey, but Canada's unwillingness to support the British view undoubtedly resulted in more peaceful steps being taken. In the latter, Britain was surprised that its ally, the United States, condemned so severely Anglo-French action in Egypt; it was amazed to find that Canadians thought much as did the Americans.

As for Canada's becoming part of the U. S. A., Canadians believe it is better that both countries shall continue to be separate and distinct nations, each free to develop its unique qualities. Moreover, Canada is too big geographically to become a State of the Union—it is against nature's laws for a part to be bigger than the whole. Nor could the ten Canadian provinces become ten states. Texas would then really be up in arms! After so recently being demoted to the "second largest State," it would never agree to become the fifth! For the Province of Quebec is more than twice the size of Texas, and Ontario and British Columbia each contains approximately one hundred thousand more square miles.

There are, of course, a very great many similarities between Canadians and Americans. They are both North Americans, with a way of life different from the European way, or the South American way, or the Asian or African way. They have much the same ideals, ambitions, standards of education and of justice. As the present Canadian Ambassador to the United States has said:

The objectives of the United States and Canada, the major ideals of the American and Canadian peoples—the great essentials—these

by tradition and by choice are the same both sides of the border and, please God, will remain so.

Nevertheless it must be recognized that the United States and Canada are different, too. Why this is so results from their different historical backgrounds, somewhat different forms of government, and different economics. A very brief summary of how and why the two countries historically differ may be helpful in understanding each other better.

When Canada and the United States both became more or less separate nations, their respective early histories were not the same. It should be remembered that not all of the English colonists in the America of 1776 rebelled. At that time tens of thousands of the American colonists decided to remain British. They were the Tories who left all their worldly goods and trekked north to settle what are now the Canadian Provinces of Ontario and New Brunswick. Their descendants today constitute a very large percentage of those two Canadian Provinces and they continue to be essentially Tory in outlook.

In the early history of Canada it was not only these American Tories, together with the Scots and the English who flowed into Canada from overseas after 1760, but also the recently conquered French who decided to remain British. This was so, notwithstanding the bitterness aroused by the deportation of Evangeline and her fellow Acadians (the "Cajuns" of Louisiana) from the British Colony of Nova Scotia. On the surface this seems astounding, but the French Revolution was still some years in the future; under the old French Regime in Canada there had been little personal liberty, and a feudal system existed. In a few years a conquered people had come to appreciate the meaning of personal liberty under British rule. Consequently in 1775, only fifteen years after the British Conquest of Canada, when an American army set out to "liberate" the French in Canada, it found that the French did not want to

be liberated. At that time Montreal was occupied by an American army and Quebec City was invested by another. Montreal was governed then for some months by an American Commission headed by Benjamin Franklin.

Why were Franklin, Samuel Chase and Charles Carroll of Carrollton unsuccessful in this attempted conquest of liberation? Causes are always multiple and intertwined, but one main reason undoubtedly was that Britain permitted the French population in Canada to retain its own language, religion, and civil laws.

That this Canadian unity under British rule stood on solid ground was manifested again during the war of 1812, when the English Canadians at Queenston Heights in Upper Canada and the French Canadians at Chateauguy in Lower Canada checked the advancing American armies, which still cherished the hope of "liberating" Canada and joining it to the Great Republic.

In time "liberating" Canada died out, but "Manifest Destiny" came to take its place. After the War between the States it was said in Congress that the intention of nature was to include the whole North American continent in the magic circle of American Union—it was "manifest destiny" that the United States should take over Canada. It was about then that many of the oldest of Canadian regiments were formed, with the avowed purpose of preventing this taking over. "Uncle Sam," it was thought in Canada, had already taken more of British North America than he was justly entitled to do. There was the example of the State of Maine. It was also remembered that "the Little Emperor of the North" (Sir George Simpson), when he was the Governor in Canada of the Hudson's Bay Company, held sway over a vast territory which stretched down over the present frontier to central California; after Simpson's day this territory was absorbed by the United States and became thirteen States of the Union. For the past century "Johnny Canuck" has stood fast to retain what was left.

Perhaps it was enough in any event for Canadians to develop, since Canada is still the second largest land mass in the world, larger than the United States by almost a million square miles and only exceeded in size by Russia.

And so both countries have grown and developed until they are today two great independent nations. Canada's population has increased by fifty per cent in the past twenty-five years; it is planning for a population of fifty millions in the not distant future. Even today the population of Canada is different from that of the United States. In Canada one third of its people are French, principally living in the Province of Quebec, but the Province of New Brunswick is now fifty per cent French and there are also large French settlements in Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta. Canada is fast becoming a bilingual country. Its metropolis, Montreal, has long been the second largest French-speaking city in the world.

So much for the historical background. As for the political institutions, both Canada and the United States are, of course, federal unions. At first glance their respective political institutions appear very similar. Both have a central government, functioning through federal cabinets at Washington and Ottawa, with an upper and lower house of representatives of the people. In the United States there is Congress with a House of Representatives and a Senate; in Canada there is Parliament with a House of Commons and a Senate. Locally, south of the Border there are State Legislatures, frequently with an upper and lower house; in Canada we find Provincial Legislatures with only one assembly, except in Quebec which also has an upper house.

Unlike the United States, as well as having "representative government" Canada has what is known under the British parliamentary system as "responsible government." By this is meant that the Executive is responsible to Parliament for its actions and its members, the Prime Minister and all of his Cabinet, must be either elected Members of

Parliament or Senators. Canadian Senators are not elected but are appointed for life by the Government of the day, not necessarily from amongst adherents of the Government's own political party. The Canadian Executive must answer in the House of Commons for its actions. The Government must resign office when it becomes evident that it no longer holds the confidence of the elected representatives of the people.

The Canadian House of Commons is elected for a period not to exceed five years and may be dissolved at any time by the Governor-General, who in that respect acts only on the advice of the Prime Minister. The Cabinet initiates nearly all public bills placed before Parliament. All legislation must pass both houses and receive the Governor-General's assent. This assent is very rarely and only very exceptionally withheld. The powers of the Canadian Senate are as wide as those of the House of Commons, except on taxation and money bills, but it is an unwritten law that the Senate does not act in defiance of the will of the people as expressed in the Commons.

Under the Canadian Constitution separate specific powers were allotted to the Federal and to the Provincial authority but residuary powers are vested in the Federal authority. This was done deliberately when the Constitution was enacted in 1867. In the events leading up to the War between the States, Canadian leaders of that time saw the result in the United States of placing the residuary powers in the hands of the local State.

So one sees that though the governmental systems of the United States and Canada appear to be very similar, there are in fact some very real differences. It is not suggested what system may prove best in the long run, but these differences are a natural corollary to the respective historical backgrounds and development of the two countries.

The most frequent problems which arise today between Canada and the United States are in the economic field.

The United States is now the greatest industrial country in the world. Canada, in spite of its comparatively small population, is also one of the greatest. But it must be remembered that until the turn of this century Canada was chiefly agricultural. In the past half century, however, Canada has become principally industrial, with pulp and paper, mining, chemicals, textiles, engineering, iron and steel, hydro-electric power, oil and uranium projects which equal or exceed those in the United States. Canada's gross national product during the same period has increased from four to thirty billions of dollars annually.

Economically the two countries are not the same. Canada, with its relatively small population and its rapid recent industrial development, is much more dependent upon exports than is the United States. Moreover, Canada's exports are much more limited in variety than those of the U. S. A. Canadian exports are chiefly newsprint, lumber, non-ferrous metals and grains. All of these, except grains, Americans need and buy from Canada in great quantities.

In Canada there is a strong feeling that Americans generally are inclined to think of Canada as a mere economic extension of the United States and fail to appreciate the economic situation peculiar to Canada. This is unfortunate since each country is extremely important to the other economically.

Canada is constantly faced with an adverse balance of trade with the United States. Americans bought in 1956 an enormous amount of Canadian products—nearly three billion dollars worth—but that year Canadians bought more than one and a third billion dollars worth more of American products than Americans did of Canadian products. Canadian trade with the United States is greater than its trade with all other countries combined; United States trade with Canada is greater than its trade with all of South America.

Because of this vast exchange of goods between the two

countries and Canada's heavy adverse balance of trade with the United States, Canadians are very sensitive to any trade regulations and practices the United States may put into force which might increase this adverse balance or adversely affect Canadian trade with Americans and others. American quotas on the import of Western Canadian oil; embargoes against Canadian natural gas; dumping of American surplus and distress materials into Canada; orders from American parent companies preventing their subsidiaries incorporated under Canadian laws from selling their products in certain markets; tying up Canada's foreign customers in the disposal of wheat surpluses; sudden increasing of American tariffs on the import of Canadian metals; American courts attempting to oblige Canadian companies to comply with American anti-trust laws in a way which may be contrary to Canadian laws—these are the sort of problems which arise today between Canada and the U. S. A.

Such questions are usually amicably resolved eventually, after Canada has officially made formal representations at the highest level, but the resultant press publicity in Canada leaves a bad taste. With a little consideration and understanding of Canada's position at the outset they might have been avoided. For example, Chicago's diversion of Lake Michigan waters for sewage purposes for generations has been opposed by Canada. Recently Chicago asked Congress to permit an increased diversion of a thousand cubic feet per second. When Canada objected the Mayor of Chicago is reported to have said publicly: "Canada should not meddle in the internal affairs of the United States and Chicago." He conveniently ignored the fact that American ports on the lesser Great Lakes for decades have objected to the lowering of their waters, as much as does Canada.

Then there is the example of the United States Secretary of Agriculture and the wheat surpluses of both countries.

Canada has complained for some time about American "give-away" and "future purchases abroad" wheat disposal methods but, when a new Canadian protest was made, Mr. Benson is reported to have said: "I still think that Canadian (wheat) production is too high." The Canadian authorities were quick then to point out that Canada has made a greater reduction than the United States in acreage sown to wheat. The disposal programmes of these gigantic wheat surpluses in both countries surely require sympathetic consultation and co-operation. A recent joint meeting in Washington of American and Canadian Cabinet members is a first hopeful step that this difficulty may be resolved but Mr. Benson's unfortunate remark is not easily forgotten.

North American Defence is of vital importance to both the United States and Canada and must be a joint undertaking, both countries working in closest harmony and understanding. Oil, lead, zinc and uranium are all elements of such continental defence. Canadians, therefore, find it difficult to understand the wisdom of the United States imposing import restrictions on such products from Canada, particularly since their development in Canada was so largely financed and carried out by American interests. Today more than fifty per cent of Canadian mining and smelting, about fifty per cent of Canadian manufacturing and about seventy per cent of the Canadian petroleum industry is controlled by Americans. As a result of vigorous protests the American oil import restrictions have now been changed to allow entry of Canadian oil, but the example of the original regulation makes Canadians suspicious of what restrictions may be imposed by the United States on Canadian manufactured items if the two countries enter fully, as they should, into a joint defence production sharing plan.

From the national American point of view, United States restrictions adversely affecting Canadian trade and indus-

try do not appear to Canadians even to be good business. For today Americans have an immense financial stake in Canada; it is estimated to be a ten billion dollar stake, which is four times greater than American investments in any other country. In the past decade American investment in Canada has doubled. Canada is a fast-developing country, which needs and welcomes investment capital from the U. S. A. American investments in Canada have been profitable. These profits flow from Canada to the United States in large amount, of course after paying very substantial taxes to Canada. Nearly half of the profits of Canadian industry go to nonresidents, mostly to American citizens and companies.

But while Canadian natural resources and markets are the source of these profits, very often the Canadian subsidiary of an American company is not only wholly owned in the United States but is also largely staffed by Americans. Canada no longer fears military or political domination by her great and friendly neighbour, but it does fear indirect loss of its sovereignty through economic domination. The question is being asked today in Canada whether it can retain an independent existence if non-residents hold most of the means whereby Canadians earn their livelihood. Some Americans seem to be surprised that Canadians have doubts about the total benevolent effect of American investments in Canada. American business leaders might be well advised to allay this fear by taking Canadians in as junior partners in the Canadian field, even though the controlling interest remained American. As a recent Canadian Minister of Trade and Commerce, who was himself originally an American, has pointed out:

By giving Canadians an active interest in the success of their Canadian subsidiaries, United States companies will, in my view, contribute immeasurably to their own prospects in this country.

When difficulties do arise between Canada and the United States they must be resolved in a friendly fashion,

without any spirit of retaliation. As the Prime Minister of Canada expresses it:

There must be no cleavage in our unity, no unresolved differences. At all costs—as difficulties which exist from time to time among friends, neighbours, even among close relatives, must be resolved—our peoples must act with infinite forbearance in order to assure the removal of existent difficulties. We must understand each other.

A spirit of retaliation would be fatal. Today it could creep in so easily. One thinks of the recent Shrimp Trucks Incident. Canada does not agree with the United States on the question of trade with Red China, and for a long time Canadians have imported shrimp from China. On arrival at the Canadian Pacific Coast they have been shipped in bond in Canadian trucks through a small section of the American Pacific Coast, there being no adequate road as yet through the Canadian Rockies. An eastern importer objected in Washington; the Canadian trucks were stopped at the American border, and a three months ban was imposed to protect American national security. In Canada there was press publicity about the incident. Canada protested to the American authorities and the ban was lifted. At the time consideration was being given to a suggestion in Congress for paving the Canadian section of the Alaska Highway on a cost-share basis between the two countries but, when the Shrimp Incident arose, it was suggested in Canada that American trucks might be prohibited from using the long Canadian section through to Alaska.

Perhaps now is the time for Americans and Canadians to re-examine their relations—that each might well learn more about the other's governmental system of today and the history of yesterday of each country; and that they review their respective economic policies and trade practices, so that these may not be allowed to injure the Good Neighbour Policy. Surely the citizens of both countries support the view expressed by the distinguished Chief Justice of the United States, when he reminded both Canadians and

Americans that ours is "the most secure boundary line on earth because it is guarded zealously on both sides by friendship."

Canadians merely ask that their American friends appreciate sympathetically that Canada, with its unique differences, has a real part to play in American relations with the rest of the free world. Situated as Canadians are geographically and with their close ties with the United States and with the Motherland of Britain, Canadians, it is suggested, are in a favoured position to interpret the views of each to the other. If Canada fulfills well this role of its destiny, may it not be of great value to the United States and to the British Commonwealth—indeed for peace to the whole free world? Yet, this can only be possible if the United States, with generous understanding encourages Canada to be itself—free to develop its own nationhood, to control its own resources, and to cultivate independence of leadership and its own culture.

on circulation policy . . .

SOMEHOW WE WERE NOT notified of the expiration of our subscription to *Educational Leader*, and we have not received any issues since July." This, in substance, is the complaint of several serials and periodicals librarians across the country. Each complaint or lament has been individually answered, but it seems necessary to make another public announcement. Publication of *The Educational Leader* terminated with the July, 1959, issue (Volume XXIII, Number 1). Announcement of this decision by the Publications Committee of the Kansas State College of Pittsburg appeared in the last three issues of *The Leader*. In their innocence, the editors had thought that this repeated message would get through. Documentary evidence to the contrary is accumulating.

To build circulation for a new journal is a difficult problem. But since THE MIDWEST QUARTERLY in a sense sprang like the Phoenix from the ashes of *The Educational Leader*, it seemed logical and practical to distribute our first two issues at least to all individuals and institutions on the mailing lists of the *Leader* on an introductory basis. In this manner, it was hoped, the new journal would attract attention and subscription orders from all over. In a modest way, this hope has been realized.

The editors have concluded that it is important and necessary to inform all concerned that this practice of free distribution to the old *Leader* list cannot continue indefinitely. After this (January) issue, this journal will begin to operate solely on a subscription basis. On page 104 of this issue, readers will find subscription rates and a coupon designated to facilitate subscribing to THE MIDWEST QUARTERLY.

Kokutai: Changes in the National Entity of Japan

FRED L. PARRISH

IN THE EARLY DAYS of the Occupation, the Japanese Imperial Cabinet, in its exposition of the new constitution, maintained that immutability obtained for the national entity (*kokutai*) of Japan. The constitution was held to be only a revision of the older Meiji constitution which, in its Article 73, provided for its revision. The state, established by this older constitution, did not lose its existence by the coming of the new constitution. Had the national entity suffered any change or loss, then the state itself would have lost its existence. Such was the official view in November of 1946.

What then did this "unchanging" national entity actually mean? Under the sway of the older constitution the concept was taken to mean the "national polity" of Japan—i.e., the "form" or "system" of government. However, in the November, 1946, exposition referred to above, the official comment on the meaning of *kokutai* was as follows: "The term national entity can mean many things, but it is appropriate to interpret its correct meaning as 'basic characteristics of the nation'." Thus it could be noted that the official definition had changed: Formerly *kokutai* identified the Japanese polity or system of rule; in 1946 it identified the basic characteristics of the nation or people. That "immutability" officially claimed for the national entity by the Government in 1946, did not at the same time prevent that same Government from changing the basic concept of the national entity from polity to people.

During the era of the Meiji constitution, the concept of the national entity was intimately associated with the concept of sovereignty and the principles of sovereignty. The old constitution was a pure gift of the emperor. Sovereignty emanated from the Imperial Throne. Authority resided in the person of the emperor, who was the authentic, tangible successor to the imperial ancestors who followed the "Great Way of the deities." The Imperial Throne was a sort of organic entity in time, which extended backward unbroken for ages eternal. The current end product, the present Emperor Hirohito himself, represented the sovereignty held by his grandfather who had given the older constitution to the people. Years ago the present Emperor, on the occasion of his enthronement ceremony, set forth the Great Way of the deities as that which was followed by his imperial ancestors when they established an everlasting throne foundation. His ancestors had transmitted to him the throne of single infinite lineage. He embraced the obligation as a young emperor to see that by his august will the Great Way of the deities shall be followed on earth. Sovereignty was with the emperor. What he willed to do, and what he willed to have others do for him, were all of a piece, in carrying out the Great Way of the deities.

A profound aura of a religious character emanated from the throne. The Japanese people felt it. For centuries they had been accustomed to it. *Kokutai* as a national polity was surcharged with august meaning. The religious aura belonging to the emperor was an authentic part of older Japanese culture. The concept of a divine emperor interlocked with concepts of other spiritual beings and moral attitudes from Confucianism and Buddhism, and was directly supported by myths in the Shinto scriptures which linked the Throne to destiny-determining powers conceived to be in control of the lands and peoples of Japan.

After the Meiji constitution became operative, political parties were born. In time there appeared three distinct

political views regarding sovereignty under the constitution. One view held that sovereignty resided with the Throne; a second held that sovereignty pertained to the state; a third claimed that sovereignty belonged to the people. But it was noticeable that those who held the view that sovereignty attached to the state, or to the people, did not find that their political views stood in the way of their continued veneration of the emperor. So significant in meaning was the traditional respect felt for the Throne that the Emperor was felt to be in an orbit of his own. The Throne had a status which politics could neither fully share nor set aside. Japanese as individuals felt their relationship to the Emperor in a very personal way. He was accepted as the high priest of the nation, a spiritual father, a moral guide, who somehow fitted into the real Japanese scheme of things. The Emperor by his very being was predetermined as a divine being to follow the Way of the deities, no matter what turn politics might take.

It was not expected, in the cultural milieu of old Japan, that an individual's loyalty to the emperor, in the performance of his moral and spiritual duties, was too much to be asked. In fact one's duty to the emperor had no limitations. Such loyalty was not only expected of the individual, but it gave meaning to his life. Each man had something to live for. Before World War II a delegation of Japanese college students visited Kansas State College. In the "bull sessions" with fraternity men one question put to them was this: "What do you plan to do after you finish college?" Very casually, but to the great astonishment of American students, their one answer was: "We are going to die for the Emperor." They felt that their reply was in harmony with their unbounded loyalty and devotion to Japan under their divine leader.

Not the least of Japan's semantic problems has been the appropriate meaning for the words with which to identify the being of the emperor. Was he to be identified as a god,

or God, or a deity, or a divinity? English words as used in the West were not so precise when used in Japan. Of little use was the Japanese *kami* ("spirits") which was used to include beings of all sorts ranging from the universal being to individual souls of men and women. Perhaps it is the cultural fog existing in this area that prompts present-day Japanese to say: "What Japan needs today is a new concept of God." Some Japanese educators today are gravely concerned lest Westerners misunderstand the Japanese current literature in which shoguns were referred to as deities and the Emperor as a god. As a matter of fact, since World War II, the Emperor himself renounced the view that the emperor was divine. But his declaration by no means clears away the fog from the meaning of "divine" and related concepts.

Old *kokutai*, which embodied the religious character of Throne-rule which unified Japan, reached its greatest influence during the Second World War. In 1937, when the Control Party of the military bureaucracy took over complete control of the country, the national entity as conceived by the militarists gained its greatest publicity. As early as 1931, military leaders exalted it when they began the systematic subjugation of Manchuria, without authority from the government at home. They arrogated to themselves the right to define and carry out the "divine mission" for Japan. By 1937 they had so penetrated the structure of Japanese political life that the Control Faction, acting behind a façade of loyalty to the Meiji constitution was able to pressure the Imperial Diet to the point that that body voted to hand over its law-making power to the Imperial Cabinet of militarists. The Cabinet based authority upon the Meiji Emperor's *Imperial Rescript on Education*, of 1890, by which it claimed the right to proceed to lead Japan forward on her "divine mission."

By 1937 the course of empire had reached the point where the fate of the empire rested completely in the hands

of those whose greatest skills lay in the arts of aggressive war. By that time they took control not only of the national economy, material resources, and human power, but they also clamped down on thought-control at an extreme stage never used before. This was the year that the notorious book, *Kokutai no Hongi*, was published. It was compiled and published by the Bureau of Educational Reform, under the Ministry of Education. The chief functions of the Ministry of Education were the control of civil service examinations, supervision of religious bodies and control of Shinto shrines, national treasures and historical monuments, and the direction of thought-control activities. The Bureau of Educational Reform, under the Ministry of Education which published the book, was charged with the direction of thought control.

This book, *Kokutai no Hongi*, which means "the Cardinal Principles of the National Entity of Japan," was the Government's propaganda instrument. It was the inspired directive for all of the Japanese people. All textbooks were placed under complete control, as were films, records, radio programs, and so forth. The book served as the official guide for all teachers and others who imparted information. It determined what subject matter could be taught and the kinds of questions which could be asked on examinations. Nothing was to be taught for which specific authority was lacking.

In the foreword of that book was the following statement: "This book has been compiled in view of the pressing need of the hour to clarify our national entity and to cultivate and awaken national sentiment and consciousness. Our national entity is vast and boundless, so that it is feared the book has fallen short in the penning of its true significance." In the main text of the book appeared quotations from Shinto scriptures — the *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki* — wherein were the myths about the divine nature of the emperor and the Japanese people. Nowhere was there a hint

in the scriptures nor in the propaganda book that the Japanese myth-makers had borrowed wholesale the background concepts of emperor veneration, worship of ancestors, loyalty and filial piety, and even other ideas, from Confucianism which was transplanted to Japan before the Shinto scriptures were written in the eighth century.

The powerful agency which helped the militarists to engender fanatical support for their concept of the national entity was the state cult of Shinto. Central in the cult were the Throne, the Emperor himself as a divine being, and the "divine mission," as well as the deities related to the throne. It did not prove difficult for most Japanese, as patriots, to go along with the program of the militarists, to cheer the Emperor to the echo, whether as individuals they were Buddhist, Shinto, or Christian. It was customary to feel that patriotic loyalty to the emperor could not violate one's own religious faith. Loyalty was but an aspect of good citizenship.

On New Year's Day in 1946, following the Surrender, the Emperor in his Proclamation touched upon his relationship to the *kokutai*. He called attention to five clauses of the Charter Oath taken long ago by his grandfather at the beginning of the Meiji era. These referred to provisions for deliberative assemblies to be established, to participation of all people in state affairs, to the abandonment of old and absurd usages, and to the search for wisdom and knowledge. Emperor Hirohito reaffirmed these principles as his own. Said he: "The ties between us and our people have always stood upon mutual trust and affection. They do not stand upon mere legends and myths. They are not predicated on the false conception that the Emperor is divine and that the Japanese people are superior to other races and fated to rule the world." He pointed to the "need to proceed unflinchingly toward elimination of misguided practices of the past; and keeping in close touch with the desires of the people, we will construct a new Japan through thor-

oughly being pacific, the officials and the people alike obtaining rich culture and advancing the standards of living of the people."

In this proclamation the Emperor made no reference to his authority from an illustrious line of Imperial Ancestors who followed the way of the deities, such as he did at the time of his enthronement years ago. But he did go back to his grandfather and endorsed his august will in the five clauses. Part of his message was given over to his expression of suffering with the people in the miseries caused by the devastation of war. He held out to them hopes for a bright new future. He encouraged them in the love of family, love of country, and urged them to give more devotion to work for the love of mankind. Plainly, he felt the obligation of being a moral and spiritual leader to the people. Plainly, he desired to feel himself firmly established upon a continued foundation of mutual trust and affection.

On December 15, 1945, shortly before the Emperor's New Year's Proclamation, General Douglas MacArthur, in a directive to the Imperial Government, formally abolished the state cult of Shinto. In that directive he specifically forbade the circulation by the Government of the propaganda book *Kokutai no Hongi* which had been used to fix the pattern of indoctrination of the entire nation from 1937 to 1945. The book itself stated that the policy for Japan's future was to assimilate and sublimate phases of foreign cultures to create a new Japanese culture, always fitting any contributions from foreign cultures into the pattern of the Japanese national entity. There was no menace in the well-known Japanese trait of changing imported ideas and products and then calling them Japanese. The real menace lay in the continued exaltation of the kind of Japanese national entity which the militarists had fostered, and which would continue to constitute a danger to

the peace of the world. The war period had already shown that the *kokutai* as a national polity could be manipulated, to result in the loss of freedom of the people at home and the loss of freedom of neighbors abroad. The old *kokutai* succeeded in wrecking the empire and ruining the lives of the people. It was that which was used to crush the very spirit of freedom.

With the downfall of the military bureaucracy and the establishment of new freedoms under the new constitution of 1947, the Japanese people sensed the dawn of a new day. The old order seemed to be dead, but the new Japan was yet to be fully born. Out of the mental struggles and heart searchings of the people, a new "feel" for what the new Japan meant—a new *kokutai*, a new entity of Japan—began to take form. Evidence of such a change was to be found in the newer basic characteristics of the people themselves. They found themselves thinking and feeling more strongly in ways they had not thought and felt strongly before.

During May and June of 1958 this writer lived in Japan and had the privilege of close association with many thoughtful Japanese from varied fields of interest. To conclude this discussion he has listed a few of his impressions of the temper of present-day Japan, which could be considered as "straws in the wind" pointing to creating of a new *kokutai*, which adumbrates the real character of the Japanese people themselves.

There existed a deep-seated fear that the Government might gradually bring back thought-control. This feeling surged high at the time the Government established a compulsory course on morality or ethics in the primary and junior high schools of the country.

There existed a strong fear that the police would be given back too much of its old-time power over the common man, and destroy some of the new freedom. Recently there were wide-spread popular protests against the Government's

effort to push through the Diet a bill which would give the police more power. The Government finally withdrew the bill.

There was a deep fear that Japan might build up another national army capable of aggression or getting Japan involved in another war. Many breathed more easily when in the last election the party in power was not returned with sufficient majority in the Diet to push through an amendment to the constitution permitting such a national army. Even many supporters of the party in power were edgy on this matter.

Some felt that the Emperor, a most worthy person, had lost much face by the recent turn of affairs, but none was found who wished to see his old constitutional status restored.

Many engaged in the educational profession found themselves attracted to socialism, and some even to communism, because of the domination of the present Government by big business having too little concern for the fortunes of education.

The times were not at all favorable for recognition and rewards to young men and women endowed with genuine abilities for leadership. There was widespread suspicion of people who manifested strong leadership.

Members of the powerful Socialist party, hoping for control of the Government at the earliest date, were quite openly hostile toward the continued influence of the United States in Japanese foreign policy. The Socialists were willing to seek closer economic ties with Soviet Russia and Communist China in order to counter the influence of the United States. Such a policy they felt was necessary for Japan to gain a more independent or middle course in world affairs.

In the colleges and universities young people of voting age had been encouraged by the times to take an active

part in political life. But many were greatly afraid to do so lest the dossier kept in the university on all their activities should be used against them when later they sought jobs in business or with the government.

Many older people talked about the indifference or actual hostility of younger people toward the best in Japanese customs and traditions. They were accused of going over too far in modernization and westernization in their social code, their dress, speech, and their cultural appreciations generally. There was too much lack of respect for elders, too much callousness and indifference toward what seemed necessary for good life to continue.

There was a deep search for the meaning of human existence itself. With the loss of loved ones, homes, fortunes, and even dreams, by the cataclysm of the war, there were still too many suicides for a healthy society. Short stories and books pointed up the blind alleys faced in psychic and spiritual experiences.

On the surface at least, the veterans of the war seemed like forgotten men. Officially it was not so with the Government and organized religion. But the rank and file no longer had to deal with truculent military and naval officers and hordes in military uniforms. The day of the militarist atmosphere seemed to be gone, but a restiveness remained because of the fear that the old order might creep back. Some felt that Japan must eventually have an army and navy of some sort, but that did not mean that the old order would necessarily return.

In the educational field, research was hard at work screening out the myths from Japanese history and replacing the myths with the factual sinews of actual past experience. Some were engaged in refining, redefining, and refurbishing Japan's rich cultural traditions in the fine arts and architecture. At one place a borrowed American professor of administrative law was lecturing to classes made up of judges from the courts. Another, a Japanese pro-

fessor, held classes of Buddhist and Shinto priests laboring to clarify the resources of their faiths. Another was engaged in clarifying the meaning of great concepts which had been fogged up in vernacular usage, such as the words westernization, Christianization, and modernization.

Japan kept its doors wide open to research, the growth of modern science, and world cultures. At the physical, chemical and biological levels Japan had moved ahead, in both theoretical and applied science. But in the social and philosophical sciences, Japan, like other western nations, had a long way to go before rounding out the complete orb of the culture of science.

People seemed to feel that they were not sure just where they were going in the unified objectives. But of one thing all seemed to be sure: they felt that somehow they had in the new Japan a more important part to play in the making of their future destiny than they had ever had before. There was no going back.

poets, rhymers, & versifiers . . .

BE IT KNOWN that the pages of THE MIDWEST QUARTERLY are open to select verse contributions. This announcement is made in direct response to queries, suggestions, and appeals from a significant number of interested parties. As a matter of fact, we have already received several distinguished manuscripts, some of which will appear in our next (April) issue. Rebecca Patterson, professor of American literature and biographer of Emily Dickinson, will have the primary assignment of poetry editor.

Address all manuscripts and/or inquiries to THE MIDWEST QUARTERLY, Kansas State College of Pittsburg.

Mark Twain: West Coast Journalist

JOHN Q. REED

THE FIVE YEARS which Mark Twain spent on the West Coast constitute a very important stage in his development both as a man and as a writer. When he went there in 1861 as secretary to his brother Orion, he was immature and unknown; when he left in 1866, he was a mature man with a considerable reputation as a journalist and lecturer. At the time he went west he had little or no idea of what trade or profession he wanted to follow, but when he left, he had become a professional writer. Many of the materials and techniques which he was to employ in his later writings he picked up as a West Coast journalist, and if many of his virtues as a writer can be attributed to this experience, it is equally true that many of his weaknesses can be traced to the same source.

Since Mark Twain's Western writing was almost altogether journalistic in nature, one must know something of the society for which it was written in order to understand fully the content, technique, and general tone of this work. It was definitely adapted to the reading public of a restricted area, and that area was the Far West, particularly Virginia City, Nevada Territory, and San Francisco. This mining region was populated largely by young adventurers, who were both sentimental and cynical in their outlook on life, and for the most part it was a world without women, at least of the conventional kind. Always ready for a drink or a hand of poker, the men were profane, ribald, and burly. The mining towns, which catered to the taste of the miners

of the area, contained numerous saloons, dance halls, and brothels. Although the West exhibited in general a rather primitive type of society, there were several flourishing theatres in the area which offered drama, melodrama, burlesque, grand opera, and many other attractions. Piper's Opera House in Virginia City offered, among other attractions, Jenny Lind, Artemus Ward, and Adah Menken. Everywhere there were violent contrasts and incongruities which are raw materials for humor.

As a newspaper reporter, Mark Twain took an active part in this energetic life and seemed to enjoy it. There was a need for humor and he was equipped temperamentally to supply it. The newspapers on which he worked were a rugged and masculine expression of the society which they served. The spirit of the mining camps demanded a lively treatment of the news, and Mark Twain wrote what was wanted. Everywhere about him there were endless opportunities for humor and satire, which he was quick to take advantage of in his writing. One must keep in mind that the form, materials, and style of his writing as well as the quality of his humor and satire were all conditioned by this rather primitive type of society.

With the exception of "The Celebrated Jumping Frog," which has some real literary value, all of Mark Twain's Western writing is written in various journalistic forms. Joe Goodman, editor of the *Territorial Enterprise*, who hired him as a reporter and feature writer, gave him almost complete freedom to write as he wished. Twain always preferred comic features to straight news reporting, but since part of his job consisted of reporting, he did write many "locals." Although most of the news which he wrote for the *Enterprise* perished with the files of the paper, enough remains from reprints in other newspapers to show the kind of reporting he did. Such sources show that among other things he wrote up school reports, meetings of the city council, courthouse news, and mining reports.

He did his most extensive serious reporting on one subject when he was sent in 1863 and 1864 to cover the meetings of the Territorial Legislature. Some of his factual reporting is sober and impersonal, but much of his "news" is highly personal, exaggerated and comic. Since routine matters were of little interest to him or his readers, he never hesitated to give his own opinion or to inject some humor into his "news" columns. Therefore the form of a great deal of his reporting resembles very much the personal essay and verges on feature writing. He early found that he was best suited by temperament for this more informal and personal type of writing. On the *San Francisco Call*, where he was merely another staff writer, he was not at all successful. The greatest "scoop" of his career occurred during his visit to the Sandwich Islands when he reported the burning of the "Hornet" in two of his letters to the *Sacramento Union*. However, it is doubtful that even these articles can be called "straight" reporting, because they go far beyond the facts. Probably they, too, can be classified as feature articles or human interest stories.

When the facts were too dull to be entertaining, Mark Twain did not hesitate to exercise his imagination by perpetrating a news hoax. Since his job was to make the people of the region laugh, and since practical jokes were a standard form of amusement among them, it is not surprising that he turned to this type of humor. In "The Petrified Man," which appeared in the *Enterprise* on October 5, 1862, he "reported" the discovery of a stone mummy. A year later he published in the *Enterprise* an account of a bloody mass murder. Both of these articles were so sensational and amusing that they were reprinted in the San Francisco newspapers.

The chief characteristic of Mark Twain's feature articles is an almost complete lack of form. A great many of these articles took the shape of parodies or burlesques in which he mocked such things as fashions and fashion reviews,

theater columns, political knavery, plays, and home remedies. By using flimsy associations, abrupt changes of subject, and long digressions he deliberately created chaotic disorder for the sake of humor. Edgar Branch describes these articles well when he says that they have a sort of "rag bag quality." Often Twain digresses at such length that it is all but impossible to distinguish the real subject of the article. "The Great Prize Fight," for example, begins with an account of two prize fighters, but before long he is talking about Morgan, the horse that he had hired to take him to the fight. Finally, after a page describing the horse, he gets back to the fight. In other articles a mixture of several different kinds of discourse leads to extreme disorder. In "Those Blasted Children" he makes use of dialogue, narration, description, a letter, elaborate parenthesis, and free association. After reading his feature articles, one comes to the conclusion that one of his guiding rules in this type of writing was comic disorder. On the other hand, the *Sandwich Islands Letters*, which are also informally written and similar in many respects to the feature articles, are generally much more orderly in their construction.

Mark Twain's idea of newswriting was also broad enough to include humorous anecdotes, and several anecdotes are to be found in his news columns. While he was working for the *Call* he published a story about a drunk's conversion, and he also told the story of a drunken Irishman who mistook the Presbyterian Church for the Union League, of which he was a member. However, his most notable achievement with the anecdote, or any other type of writing during his Western years, for that matter, was "The Celebrated Jumping Frog." Despite the fact that the story is an old one and that the technique of narrating it had been used many times by other humorists, it has become a classic. Unlike most of his other writing of this period, the structure is so effective that it is hard to see

how it could be improved upon. His use of the device of enclosing the written version of the folk tale within a frame supplied by the author speaking in his own person permits the use of both narration and monologue. Within this framework Simon Wheeler's tale itself is superbly constructed. Wheeler first makes perfectly clear that Jim Smiley will bet on anything; then he cites three extended examples to prove his point. These instances are arranged in ascending order, climaxing with the defeat of Dan'l Webster by the stranger's frog. It should be noticed, too, that the first incident, which described Smiley's mare, is generalized; the second, which relates the adventures of Andrew Jackson, Smiley's dog, is more particular; while the third is a detailed story which is dramatically portrayed. The excellence of the anecdote rests primarily on its structure.

Finally, mention must be made of the lectures on the Sandwich Islands. These lectures were important in his career because they gave him a wider reputation than did the letters to the *Union* and led to the *Alta* letters, the *Quaker City* excursion and *The Innocents Abroad*. Unfortunately the manuscript was destroyed, and there is no way of judging their literary value, except for a few fragments. Probably they were very similar in many respects to the *Sandwich Islands Letters*. Albert Bigelow Paine holds the view that the lectures were vastly superior to the letters, and that they mark a transition between the rather primitive quality of the Comstock writings and the excellence of *Innocents Abroad*. Whatever their literary value may have been, we do know that the lectures were highly successful.

Mark Twain took the subject matter for his features or sketches almost entirely from his immediate environment. Except for the *Sandwich Islands Letters*, it is almost impossible to name one article which has real national or international significance. Often when he wrote for the *Enter-*

prise he used such local violent happenings as murders or the doings of desperadoes and made them the subject of satire. One of his first articles, for example, was written about the killing of a man in a saloon by a desperado, and in it Twain profusely thanked the murderer. He also took a special delight in writing up theater news and opinions, and his breezy, irreverent résumé of *Ignomar, The Barbarian*, written in 1863, was so amusing that it was copied in the East.

Current fads and fashions furnished subjects for several of his feature articles, especially those written in San Francisco, which was a fertile field for such material. One of the fads which caught his attention was the craze for spiritualism which infected the West Coast during his stay there, and he wrote a number of articles investigating the subject. He started his series by burlesquing a current story about a servant girl being mauled by spirits in "The Kearney Street Ghost Story." Current enthusiasm for prize fighting led him to write "The Great Prize Fight." Several of his sketches were written to show his amusement at current mining town manners and fashions. "The Lick House Ball," for example, which was written for *Golden Era* in 1863, is a humorous comment on the shams, affectations, and general low taste of the newly rich.

Sometimes, penetrating beneath the surface of society, he scrutinizes the ideals and ethics of West Coast people. "Those Blasted Children," which was his first identified work to appear in an Eastern publication, satirically discloses the ideals prevalent among the younger generation, ideals which are surprisingly like those of their parents. The sketch not only belittles the mania for money which has infected the region, but it also contains his first attack on race prejudice. The behavior of the children in the sketch mirrors the resentment toward the Chinese which Mark Twain had noticed in the grown-ups. With a feeling of pity for the Chinaman and rage at his tormentors, he re-

minds the public that the Constitution specifies America as an asylum for all oppressed peoples. He also ridicules the newspapers, the legislature, and the city police because they ignore such outrageous incidents of social oppression.

One of his earliest pieces dealing with ethics was "The Latest Sensation," or "The Bloody Massacre," which was a hoax telling of a mass murder by a man who had been deranged by financial loss. Influenced by propaganda in the San Francisco papers, the man had shifted his investments from the gold mines of Virginia City and Gold Hill to the Spring Valley Water Company of San Francisco. Fraudulent speculation soon caused the collapse of this corporation, and he was left penniless. The article is an attack not only on the dishonest practices of business but also on the lack of moral fibre in the newspapers, which could have exposed the dishonesty.

The Western political scene provided material for several of these early sketches. Sometimes he treats political matters in a humorous way, merely to amuse his readers, as he does in "The Grand Bull Driver's Convention," an entertaining burlesque of a meeting of the territorial legislature. More often, however, his purpose is more serious and he assumes the role of political reformer. "The Great Prize Fight," published in *Golden Era*, is a burlesque of a gubernatorial contest in California, which lampoons political campaigns where personalities obscure issues. In a sketch entitled "Concerning Notaries" he derides the zeal of the numerous applicants who petition Governor Nye of Nevada for commissions for notaries public, very lucrative positions. The city of San Francisco, too, provided much material for political satire. In the fall of 1865 he sent a series of letters to the *Enterprise* from California in which he bitterly assailed the corruption of the city, calling specific names. In one of these letters, which bears the title "What Have the Police Been Doing?", he pretends to de-

fend the city police who are "easy and comfortable—always leaning up against a lamp post in the sun."

His first extended treatment of the American court system appeared in *Golden Era* for June 26, 1864, in "The Evidence in the Case of Smith vs. Jones." Ironically commenting on the sense of justice among the masses, he says that he is confident they will be able to determine the guilty party merely by reading his transcription of the testimony. His ironic praise of "my race" and "the masses" exhibits the scornful contempt which he had even this early for "the damned human race."

His Western writings also contain several sketches dealing with the subject of religion. One of his first pieces dealing with this topic was "Reflections on the Sabbath," which concerns the theological aspects of orthodox Presbyterianism. This is his first recorded objection to the ways of the Almighty, and shows that he was already beginning to struggle with the problem of good and evil. Again in *Californian* for December 23, 1865, he offered "The Christmas Fireside—by Grandfather Twain," in which he considers the case of small "sinful James" who lied, stole, and rose in the world by cheating but nevertheless became universally respected and was eventually elected to the legislature. This is a burlesque on moralizing Sunday-school tales as well as an attack on society for worshiping material success. A companion piece, "The Story of the Good Little Boy," exhibits a perfect child who took great delight in the Sunday-school tales but was a complete failure in life.

Often, in fun or in earnest, he attacked individuals for the sake of a good story. An early example of such an attack is the "Petrified Man" hoax which was published in the *Territorial Enterprise*. Written to punish the stupidity of a Humboldt coroner, the sketch describes how a petrified man has been found in the mountains south of Gravelly Ford. Judge Sewell, the coroner, at once proceeded to the

spot, held an inquest and reached the remarkably wise verdict that "deceased came to his death from protracted exposure." The *Sandwich Islands Letters* also display this tendency to attack individuals. Two individuals whom he met in the islands aroused his ire—the Prime Minister, C. C. Harris, and the Lord Bishop, T. N. Staley. In spite of his avowed desire to be perfectly fair, he could not resist blasting them with invective in his letters to the *Union*.

For the sake of variety, he also liked to banter with other newspaper men. While he was working on the *Enterprise*, he and Dan De Quille, another reporter, frequently ridiculed each other in the columns of the newspapers. Later while Mark Twain was reporting the proceedings of the 1863 territorial legislature, he was chided about the inaccuracy of his articles by Clement T. Rice, a reporter for the *Virginia City Union*. Twain came back at him in his next letter to the *Enterprise* and dubbed him "The Unreliable," while referring to himself as "The Reliable." Although they were good friends in private, this bantering between the two reporters continued throughout the session.

Finally, a few words should be said about the subject matter of the *Sandwich Islands Letters*. These letters are quite comprehensive, covering not only the sugar and whaling industries, which it was his primary purpose to report on this trip, but also scenic beauty, social, political, economic, and religious conditions, history and legends, and many other interesting aspects of the islands. Above all, however, his interest is in individuals, and the letters contain a number of descriptions of outstanding Hawaiian leaders. His description of M. Kekuanaoa, President of the Assembly, is especially noteworthy. Nor is his interest limited to the nobility and officials; he also describes the appearance, morals, and customs of the common people of the islands. It is probable that the lectures, like the letters, ranged over a great variety of subject matter.

Walter Frear says that they included everything "from the hospitality of the people to that of the mosquitoes."

One of the most important characteristics of Mark Twain's Western writing was the tendency to express abstract ideas in very concrete terms, since this quality became one of the excellences of his later writing. He tends to think in images drawn from elemental sources, and from his own experiences, especially his years on the river. In commenting upon this characteristic of his imagery, Gladys Bellamy says that it "is in keeping with the primitive quality of his imagination." Several images drawn from steamboating are found in "The Jumping Frog." The bull pup, for example, seemed perfectly harmless at first glance: "But as soon as money was on him he was a different dog; his under jaw'd begin to stick out like the fo'castle of a steamboat, and his teeth would uncover and shine like the furnaces." The shot filled frog "couldn't stir no more than if he was anchored out." In describing a young officer in "Those Blasted Children" Twain says that his nostrils were "turned up like port-holes," and in "Fitz Smythe's Horse," he describes Smythe's mustaches as "sticking out strong like a cat-fish's horns." These examples could be multiplied many times, for the Western sketches are filled with images of this kind.

Although most of Mark Twain's writing during this period is meant to be humorous in one way or another, much of the wit seems rather crude to a generation which has learned to enjoy the *New Yorker* brand of humor. This crudity, however, is easily explainable. In the first place, Twain simply had not yet mastered subtle techniques for evoking mirth. In the second place, he was writing for a very unsophisticated group which would not have appreciated a more refined type of humor. The hoax, for example, which is only a practical joke elevated to a literary level, grew directly out of an environment which reveled in practical jokes. Although the hoax is undoubtedly one of

the lowest forms of creative imagination, he achieved remarkable success with it in Virginia City. Gross exaggeration, which is also a rather rude type of humor, grew naturally out of the frontier tall tale.

Quite often, too, his humor displays a vein of coarseness which strikes us today as showing very poor taste. "The Bloody Massacre" well illustrates this unrefined type of humor. In this hoax, which pictures the most gory massacre that any human mind could concoct, he gives a most detailed description of how the crazed man went berserk and killed his wife and seven children with an axe, a knife, and a club. After scalping his red-headed wife and cutting her head from her body, he cut his own throat from ear to ear and rode into town. Twain not only pictures the house full of blood and brains, but he also minutely describes the instruments with which the murders were committed. "The Kearney Street Ghost Story" exhibits the same type of humor. In this sketch a ghost came in the night to a servant girl's bedside, groaned, and "bet" kittens until "it had stacked up a whole litter of nine little bloody kittens on the pillow."

In several cases his humor, if it can be called that, is concerned with nausea, vomiting, and offensive smells. This rather repulsive type of humor is found in "How to Cure a Cold." After following the advice of a friend to take a quart of warm salt water to cure the infection, he "threw up his immortal soul." Even in the *Sandwich Islands Letters*, in which his humor is generally more subtle, he describes the passengers' seasickness thus: "I found twenty-two passengers leaning over the bulwarks vomiting and remarking 'O, My God!' and then vomiting again." Gladys Bellamy suggests a possible psychological explanation for this attention to ugliness when she says, "But he was so sensitive that he suffered because of his sensitivity and by dragging out into the open what we normally try to forget, he perhaps found a certain relief."

Many of his attempts at direct satire fail because he felt so strongly about the object of the satire that he could not disguise his personal grievance. Such sketches display a "sledge hammer" technique in which aesthetic qualities are entirely forgotten, and as a result they lack the universal quality which characterizes true satire. An example of such personal invective is a sketch entitled "A Small Piece of Spite," which appeared in the *San Francisco Call*. In rebuking some undertakers connected with the coroner's office who have denied news to the San Francisco reporters, he calls the offenders "official corpse-planters," "unmitigated ignoramuses," and "fifty-dollar understeppers." He uses the same name-calling technique in denouncing Prime Minister Harris in the *Sandwich Islands Letters*. Harris is described as "an inveterate official barnacle" who has a "cadaverous undertaker's countenance." Almost without exception, these early attempts at direct satire fail because he is unable to disguise his personal bitterness.

His indirect satires, too, often fail though they do show a recognition of subtlety. Although one reason for the failure of some of them is simply that the object of ridicule is not made clear, the cause of failure in most cases is faulty technique. His habit of mixing parody and travesty results in a nullification of both because he does not consistently burlesque style or subject. In others the use of chaotic digression and tricks of thought association result in a structure which is hopelessly involved. "Daniel in the Lion's Den—and Out Again All Right" illustrates this type of confusion. The sketch, which tells of a visit to the hall of the San Francisco Board of Brokers, begins with an ironical defense of brokers, shifts to invective against them, and ends by implying that they will go to Hell. Since he seems to be trying in part to explain the meaning of stock market terminology, the emphasis is divided between pure information, comic spectacle, and undirected satire. This chaos is typical of most of his early burlesques.

That Mark Twain was occasionally able to write effective humor during his Western years is proved by passages in the *Sandwich Islands Letters* and by "The Jumping Frog." It was the latter piece which first indicated a change in his writing which was to carry him far beyond Wild Western burlesque. Although this is not the place for a critique on the anecdote, it might be well to mention a few of the techniques which he uses to make it humorous. Some humor, of course, arises from the theme of "tables turned" and from the animals and characters themselves, but most of it can be attributed to the framework which permits us to see Jim Smiley through Simon Wheeler's eyes. Simon's language, which is colloquial and ungrammatical, also adds humor to the tale. Furthermore, numerous subtle devices are used throughout Simon Wheeler's narrative to heighten the humorous effect. Among other devices, he uses grotesque similes, mixed metaphors, comic catalogues, gross exaggeration, surprise, and anti-climax. All in all it is an excellent piece of humorous writing and far superior to his other writing of this period.

In spite of the examples of coarseness and invective mentioned previously, the quality of humor and satire in the *Sandwich Islands Letters* is generally good. Probably his sense of humor was invigorated by new experiences, and by this time, too, he had mastered some quieter forms of humor. At any rate these letters include some comic sketches of animals, persons, and experiences which are almost equal to passages in *Innocents Abroad*. Some of his conversations with Brown, his fictitious traveling companion, make quite humorous reading, too.

One earlier humorous piece which should be mentioned is the sketch entitled "Early Rising as Regards Excursions to the Cliff House," which follows the pattern of gentle resignation to a disappointing situation. Summer tourists had talked about the early morning trip until Twain felt that he really must try it. Arising at four o'clock in the

morning, he set out on the journey. But he was doomed to disappointment, for the atmosphere was freezing, and he was forced to add a horse blanket to his overcoat. Thereafter the odor of horse blanket was mingled with the fragrance of the flowers. To complete his disappointment, the fog was so thick that he saw no sights all morning except the horse's ears.

That Mark Twain was greatly interested in the matter of style at this time is apparent from his numerous parodies and burlesques of various styles of writing. His first burlesques on the subject of writing were sketches dealing with various types of journalism in which he lampooned fashion reviews, the ordinary run of "local items," and sob stories. Later his use of burlesque and parody extended beyond journalism to such types of writing as learned articles, biography, and plays. His parody of *Ignomar, the Barbarian* should be mentioned in particular because it contains some rather discerning literary criticism. In his parody he uses slang phrases, modern terms, contemporary names, and generally adapts it to the Washoe scene. As Bellamy points out, the sketch shows that Mark Twain realized that in spite of the inflated speeches, the play was really not much different from a current dime novel. Such pieces show that although his own style had not yet matured, he was very much concerned with the craft of writing.

His factual reporting for the *Enterprise* and the *Union* has a recognizable style. In contrast with his humorous pieces, the style of these news articles is sober and impersonal. The quality of reserve which is typical of them is no doubt indicative of his indifference to this type of writing. Although his sentences are usually complex in structure, they are clear and understandable. Branch says of his reportorial style, "In general, Sam succeeded in saying briefly, and usually in the order of understanding, what had to be said."

The general style of his feature articles and other

sketches can best be described as florid and bombastic. Although he occasionally wrote in a clipped jerky manner, the flowery and inflated style seemed to come easier to him, and he often reveled in a comic outpouring of words. These sketches are embellished with numerous exaggerated similes, extravagant metaphors, and other kinds of elaborate conceits. His practice of piling up one grotesque detail on another, often in patterns of absurd association, results in long, involved and often tedious description. Probably he learned this laborious style of writing from Western journalism. Branch shows that Dan De Quille, Twain's fellow reporter on the *Enterprise*, wrote in much the same manner. The following paragraph from "How I Went to the Great Race," in which Twain describes a hotel clerk, will serve to show how tedious some of his descriptions become:

It will ease my mind to tell you about him. You know Homestead, clerk at the Incidental Hotel, and you know he has the reputation of being chatty, and sociable, and accommodating—a man, in fact, eminently fitted to make a guest feel more at home in the hotel than in his own home with his wife, and his own mother, and his wife's mother, and her various friends and relatives, and all the other little comforts that go to make married life a blessing, and create what is known as "Sweet Home," and which is so deservedly popular—I mean among people who have not tried it.

There is evidence that by the time he went to the Sandwich Islands he was working toward a more concise style of writing. It was at this time, apparently, that he began to write maxims, three of which he entered in his notebook on the voyage. Both these letters and "The Jumping Frog" display an easy flowing rhythm which was not evident in his earlier writings. Simon Wheeler's narrative, for example, is remarkably rhythmic and is told with economy and simplicity. The letters, too, contain some passages which show a tendency toward a more economical style and a growing ability in description. He describes the

view of the volcano which he saw from the Volcano House as "a coal black sky shivered into a tangled network of angry fire" and compares it with "chain lightning on a midnight sky." Such passages show a careful concern with the selection of words and the structure of sentences which indicates a growing sense of prose rhythm.

Quite often he made use of an incongruous mixture of two styles for the sake of contrast and humor. In "The Jumping Frog," for example he used the device of contrasting the informal colloquial language of Simon Wheeler with the more formal and genteel expression of the frame. Another technique which he frequently used was that of beginning a passage in a genteel or even Biblical style and then abruptly descending into Western vernacular. In "Those Blasted Children," he says, "God pity any Chinaman—for the eye of the law regardeth him not, and the youth of California are down on him." The following passage from "Early Rising" illustrates the device of descending from a flowery style to one which is considerably lower.

They entirely dispaired of my recovery, at one time, and began to grieve for me as one whose days were numbered—whose fate was sealed—who was soon to pass away from the flowers, and from the glad sunshine, and the birds, and the odorous flowers, and murmuring brooks, and whispering winds, and all the cheerful scenes of life, and go down into the dark and silent tomb—and they went forth sorrowing and jumped a bit in the graveyard, and made up their minds to grin and bear it.

Although Twain, during his Western years, used words principally for clowning, several of his sketches show a rather serious concern with problems of language. In the first two *Sandwich Islands Letters* he attempts to reproduce on a literary level the nautical language which he heard on board the *Ajax*. The bombastic lingo of lawyers is satirized in "Ye Sentimental Law Student," and differentiated speech is used as a means of characterization in the "Case of Smith vs. Jones." He does his most nearly artistic

work, however, when he tries to record realistically the general Western vernacular as he does in "The Jumping Frog." During these years his vocabulary became richer and more flexible, and several of his sketches and anecdotes show a deepening sensitivity to the idiom of common speech, which forecasts the excellence of some of his later works, such as *Roughing It*. For the most part, he has dropped the misspellings and exaggerated dialects which characterized the *Snodgrass Letters*, and instead he attempts to record as realistically as he can the idiom of everyday speech. The misspelled words in such pieces as "The Jumping Frog" are used only to give the dialect.

Since Twain's highest reaches in maturity were to come in character portrayal, it is interesting to examine some of his early attempts at characterization. As noted earlier, his earliest journalistic writing shows an interest in personalities rather than events, and his feature articles contain numerous descriptions of real people, usually exaggerated, however, to point out a moral. In only a few instances does he portray characters merely for their own sake, and these are thumbnail sketches rather than attempts at extended character portrayal. However, these scattered examples of portraiture are significant because they show certain inclinations which become increasingly noticeable in his later writing. Most important of all, perhaps, is his tendency to draw characters directly from life and to present early frontier people whom he really understands. Furthermore, he concerns himself with representative individuals drawn from the mass and not with unusual or heroic types as Bret Harte did.

His first anecdote in the frontier vernacular, which appeared in 1865 under the title "An Unbiased Criticism," is accompanied by a thumbnail sketch of the narrator. Although the sketch begins with a promise of criticism of a local art exhibit, it soon digresses to Mark Twain's visit to Jackass Hill and the scarcity of reading material at Angel

Camp. In desperation he tries to borrow a book from Ben Coon, who is described as "a nice bald-headed man." Coon then launches into the adventures of his one book, which is an old unabridged *Webster's Dictionary*. In this initial character sketch appear the distinctive features of many following ones: the rhythm of natural speech, authentic idiom and the indication that the story teller himself sees no humor in the story. The tale, which was a rehearsal for "The Jumping Frog," contains no moralizing.

Huckleberry Finn exists in rough outline in the sketch entitled "Fitz Smythe's Horse." Although the sketch was written to lampoon Evans, an *Alta* reporter, it includes an interesting sketch of an unnamed boy who is surprisingly like Huck. Fitz Smythe, who represents Evans, feeds his horse on nothing but old copies of the *Alta* and the *Bulletin*, and as a result the animal is starving. While Mark Twain stands pitying it, a boy appears and gives him its history in a vernacular very similar to that of Huck Finn. The language of the boy represents one of Twain's earliest efforts to convey into print the tonal inflections of the narrator. The boy says that the horse will eat "a-n-y-thing he can shet his mouth on," and "he don't care a dam."

Another character who must not be forgotten is Mr. Brown, Mark Twain's imaginary traveling companion on the Sandwich Islands trip. Mr. Brown, who appears throughout the series of letters, is important because many of his attributes are distributed among characters in *The Innocents Abroad* and other later books. Brown, whom critics have likened to Watson and Boswell in literature, has been characterized as a vulgarian, realist, philosopher, sceptic, cynic, pessimist, *alter ego*, and inner voice. Although he is not dramatically presented, we get a good general idea of his character from Mark Twain's description of him and remarks to him. The passages on Brown indicate that he is a naive, unsophisticated, matter-of-fact, good-natured sort of fellow. Walter Frear says "He seems to

have had two principal functions; one to enable Mark Twain to put forth through the voice and mind of another things which he thought he should not hold back but which he preferred under the circumstances not to say directly himself, that is to present the other side; the other to serve as a butt or subject of humor, or occasion or pretext for it, especially of the cruder kind."

Mark Twain's most notable advance in his development as a delineator of character was "The Jumping Frog." Although the brevity of the anecdote forbids the creation of the type of full-bodied character which he achieved later, within its limits it convinces us by its clear perception of personality. Jim Smiley and Simon Wheeler, who are dramatically presented, are drawn from real life, but their natural qualities are heightened by Twain's imagination. The ingenious framework of the anecdote permits an interplay of character which is impossible to straight narrative, and both Jim Smiley and Simon Wheeler emerge as genuine individuals.

In attempting to account for the nature of Mark Twain's writings during this period, the problem at once arises as to the possible influence of other humorists and humorous writers, particularly Artemus Ward and Bret Harte. The consensus of critics is that he was not greatly influenced by any one individual. Although he and Artemus Ward were good friends and often used the same subjects and techniques, there is little evidence that he was greatly indebted to Ward. Bernard De Voto says, "Mark has nothing of Ward's manner, approach, and the content of his humor." Branch agrees that Ward's influence was "minor and indirect." Substantially the same thing can be said of the influence of Bret Harte. Harte, who was also a friend of his, often gave him advice in the revision of his writing. He might have learned something of form from Harte, but it is hard to find traces of a great indebtedness. Branch believes that the influence of the journalist Dan

De Quille was greater than that of either Ward or Harte, and that if anyone is to receive credit for influencing Twain during these years, it is he. The truth probably is that both of them were simply conforming to the standards and conventions of Western journalism, which in turn were determined by the tastes of the region.

One must conclude that Mark Twain's years in the West were very important in his development as a literary artist. Although the writing which he did during these years is journalistic and not memorable in itself, it does show a steady improvement in quality and indicates the direction which his later writing was to take. On the other hand, he acquired certain weaknesses as a writer which he never completely overcame. One of these was the tendency to cultivate formlessness and disorder. The importance of his two years on the *Territorial Enterprise* can hardly be overemphasized. Here he not only associated with men who could teach him something about the craft of writing, but he was also given a freedom of expression which permitted him to try out his literary talents and display his individuality. Although the writing which he did for this newspaper displays course humor, ineffective satire, florid style, and chaotic form, it also shows a steady advance in quality. But it was probably the influence of the *Californian*, a rather high quality literary production which first motivated him to refine his articles and increase their literary excellence. Although there was no sudden or violent change in the nature of his writing, he soon began to discard his extravagant burlesques and to improve his style. By the time that he wrote the *Sandwich Islands Letters* he was able to write some good description and a better grade of satire and humor. Although his Western years produced no masterpieces, they did give some hints of his real abilities. Particularly significant as indicative of later works was his bent toward humor, satire, and real-

istic portrayal of native American character. But when he left the West in 1866 he was still a journalist and not a literary artist.

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Is Full Employment Possible Without Inflation?

MORRIS L. STEVENS

THIRTY YEARS AGO last October the financial world was stunned by the stock market crash on the New York Stock Exchange. The reverberations of this event resounded throughout the economy. Successive declines in production, in employment, and in prices resulted. Those who survived those years can remember too well the economic paralysis which gripped the nation in the great depression which ensued. Symptoms of economic illness were everywhere—thirteen million out of work, bread lines, bankruptcies, penny farm sales, bank failures, and life savings lost. Many felt that the bottom had dropped out of everything. This depression stimulated widespread re-evaluation of our government economic policies, the development of new economic theory, and much legislative reform. We entered that Great Depression with what we now believe to be a number of mistaken economic ideas. The problem of maintaining full employment had not been discussed in economic textbooks for 150 years—not from Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* until 1930. Such discussion was unnecessary since the prevailing view held that full employment was the natural condition in a free enterprise economy. Therefore, government was not responsible for economic prosperity. In fact, it was generally contended that government interference with free market adjustments was improper. That unemployment occurred was recognized but it was felt to be only a process of temporary reallocation of factors of production. Unemploy-

ment was attributed to frictions and lags in relocating labor to production needed and demanded by the consumer. For example, a decline in demand for buggies brought unemployment in that industry only until the workers could shift to the auto industry. Overpricing some factors of production or overproducing some consumer goods required price adjustments or shifts in production which caused unemployment for a short time. But it was believed that market forces operating during the transition would soon bring back full employment. If automatic full employment was inherent, then government action to aid employment was unnecessary.

Within this framework, it was thought that some decline stimulated people to practice thrift and industry. By such a process inefficient workmen and businesses were weeded out. During such times banks restricted loans, businesses paid off their debts, where possible, and reduced inventories to avoid losses due to falling prices, and government raised taxes to balance the budget. In the words of A. F. Burns, this was a time for "the financially weak firms to take down their shingles and put up their shutters, let the general public practice greater frugality."

The depth and duration of the Great Depression culminated in a change of ideas concerning government action needed during depression. John Maynard Keynes emerged as the leading depression economist. During the twenties when England had considerable unemployment, his economic thinking underwent a basic change. Although he had been schooled in classical economic thought, he now believed it contained serious errors. In 1936 he published his controversial book, *The General Theory*, in which he held that full employment is not inherent in the free enterprise economy. He contended that less-than-full employment equilibrium was possible. According to this view, a high level of unemployment could exist for a long period with no inherent market forces coming in to drive the econ-

omy back to full employment. As a consequence, government assistance would be necessary to stimulate a return to full employment.

Mr. Keynes visited President Franklin D. Roosevelt during his first administration and discussed the need of government deficit spending programs to secure a return of prosperity. The Roosevelt administration had gone into office with campaign promises to balance the budget, and Congress proceeded to raise both excise and income taxes. But what was really needed was immediate and greatly increased government spending from newly created money. The administration was soon convinced of this need and inaugurated deficit spending programs. The result was an upturn in business activity. But at this time the extent to which government deficit spending had to be used to reach and maintain full employment was not fully understood. From 1932 to 1936, unemployment at its lowest was 9 million, or 17 per cent of the labor force, and at its highest, 13 million, or 25 per cent. At first it was hoped that government deficit spending would "prime the pump" after which cumulative market forces would take the economy merrily on to full employment. An economic decline in 1937 following an easing of government deficit spending quickly dispelled this illusion.

As a result of experimental spending programs in the decade of the thirties and the new belief among economists that full employment is not inherent in our economy, public opinion changed. Public thinking not only supported government full employment policies, but demanded that government take over this new responsibility. In 1946 Congress passed the Employment Act and established the President's Council of Economic Advisors. This council was given the duty of keeping constant surveillance over the economy and advising the President on economic affairs. An annual report to Congress on economic conditions and needs was required. This act, for the first time in our

history, made full employment not only an objective but a responsibility of the Federal Government. Congress responded by creating a Joint Committee on the Economic Report. Subcommittees have also been created from time to time to investigate progress and effects of full employment policies.

With our government underwriting full employment since World War II, the economy has operated at practically full employment. The average level of unemployment since 1946 is about four per cent of the labor force, a level comparable to the decade of the twenties. Still, during the fourteen years of this period four were recession years. The severity of the three recessions which occurred has intensified progressively. Unemployment ranged from five to eight per cent of the labor force, with the highest percentage occurring during the last recession in 1957-1958. According to the Federal Reserve Index of Industrial Production, the first of these recessions lasted for nine months while the duration was fourteen months for each of the last two. The decline of the index of industrial production was eleven points in the first, thirteen points in the second, and twenty points in the last recession. During these recessions, steel production also dropped to 83 per cent of capacity in 1949, to 74 per cent of capacity in 1954, and to 55 per cent of capacity in the first three quarters of 1958. The number of unemployed workers reached four million in 1949, 3.7 million in 1954, and 5.4 million in 1958. On balance, this data indicate that recessions are becoming more intense. Yet the recession of 1957-1958 was shorter and less severe than had been predicted by many. Full employment policies during the later part of this period undoubtedly placed restraint on recessions. Business declines were less after World War II than after World War I.

But this postwar period is also unique in that we have had a continued upward price movement. Following the high prices of all of our past wars a sharp and extended

price decline occurred. Consumer prices skyrocketed 22 per cent in the three years 1946 to 1949. The period since 1949 had an additional price rise of 23 per cent. Of the total 45 per cent rise in consumer prices since 1946, all but ten per cent occurred in the postwar adjustment period, 1946-1949, and during the Korean War. But even after the post-Korean War recession was completed, price increases continued at an average of three per cent per year from 1955 to the end of 1958. Perhaps even more disturbing than the movement of prices upward is the change in the extent to which they fell during the recessions. During the 1949 recession consumer prices fell two per cent, during the next recession, 1953-54, they dropped one per cent, but during the most recent recession, 1957-58, consumer prices rose almost five per cent. A rise in consumer prices during the entire declining phase of a recession is unprecedented. From the time when recovery began in June, 1958, to March, 1959, the cost of living was stable, but since March, prices have risen about one per cent. In short, inflationary pressure persisted in peacetime, and price decline did not set in as after past wars but rather continued an upward trend.

In the light of the postwar inflationary price spiral we are confronted with the question whether our commitment to full employment policies has contributed to the increase in cost of living. Historically, inflation has been associated primarily with wartime economy. The War of 1812 and the Civil War experienced serious inflations which reached their peak in the closing year of the wars. World War I had a delayed peak at about the end of 1919. It would seem reasonable that the cost of living index climb until 1949 was the delayed peak after World War II. The peak of the Korean War price rise was reached in 1952. But the inflation after 1954 seems to be unrelated to war. How-

ever, "cold war" government spending undoubtedly aided our full employment policies.

All major inflationary periods of the past have had similar causal elements. Basically, monetary expansion supported by heavy wartime demand for goods was the chief cause. During the Revolutionary and Civil Wars the government started their printing presses to supply government's added needs, while in modern times we merely add more zeros to the government checking account. Inflation, then, is facilitated by an expansion of spending through increasing the supply of money without a corresponding increase in the quantity of economic goods and services. This point cannot be over emphasized. Too much money chasing too few goods is the traditional explanation of inflation. David Hume understood and explained this process in the eighteenth century. This view was adopted by classical economists and is accepted by economists down to the present time, including Keynesians.

Ironically, full employment policies now used—tax reduction, automatic stabilizers, government spending programs, redating of letting of defense contracts—are the same tools of deficit spending which caused inflations of the past. In other words, to maintain full employment we inject a little inflation into a declining economy. The only difference between the techniques used to bring us out of recession and those which cause inflation is either one of degree or of timing. For example, deficit spending during recession normally will bring recovery, whereas deficit spending in prosperity will bring inflation. Therefore, deficit spending as an effective depression tool must be used in the early stages rather than the late recovery stage. Also, the doses of deficit spending must be in appropriate amounts to cure recession but not large enough to cause inflation.

Since full employment policies are largely retimed and controlled inflationary policies, it is our problem here to de-

termine whether inherently, or as they have been used, they are inflationary. The first spurt of prices from 1946 to 1949 was primarily unrelated to full employment policies as such. The impetus came rather from pent-up demands for goods and services after the war. The rise of prices after the removal of wartime price controls was stimulated by a number of factors which undergirded the high demand in these years. Consumers had accumulated demands for goods they had been unable to purchase during the war. Further, they had savings or war-bond holdings which they were able to use for purchases. They were further willing to delay normal savings in order to spend a larger percentage of their current income. Plant capacity of consumer goods industries were inadequate to meet these demands. A monetary demand greater than the supply of goods caused prices to rise. Anticipated price rises caused business to increase orders. Added pressure on producers stimulated demand for new investment, which further strained our productive capacity and added to inflationary pressures. Housing needs further expanded demand. Along with this demand pressure, banks readily expanded loans to both business and consumers. Expansion of commercial bank loans was facilitated by the Federal Reserve commitment to maintain prices of government bonds to preserve a low interest for refunding maturing government debt. Under this commitment commercial banks were able to sell part of their holdings of government bonds to reserve banks when they needed funds for more loans. Also, life insurance companies sold large blocks of government bonds to secure funds to purchase newly issued corporate bonds. The effect of the Federal Reserve System underwriting low interest rates for the Treasury was to supply new money to feed the inflation. Consequently, the money supply increased \$37 billion or 36 per cent from 1945 to 1956. Velocity of money also increased with further expanded purchasing power.

The conclusion is that the inflation during 1946-49 was pure and simple monetary expansion inflation supported by heavy postwar demands for goods and capital expansion. The cause was essentially the same as in the inflations which occurred during the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, the Civil War, and World War I.

This easy money policy really was not a part of, or a result of, full employment policies. It was rather due to the Treasury policy to maintain a low interest cost on the public debt and the unwillingness of Congress to give new powers to the Federal Reserve System to curb the supply of money. As inflation got under way the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System made numerous requests for increased powers to limit credit expansion. Congress responded by granting powers for only temporary, small increases in the reserve requirement.

However, some groups in Congress were becoming concerned about unrestricted monetary policies. Late in 1949 the Douglas Subcommittee on Monetary, Credit, and Fiscal Policies (Subcommittee on the Economic Report) advocated provisions for a flexible monetary policy to achieve the purposes of the Employment Act. This Subcommittee recommended that the Federal Reserve banks be permitted to use a vigorous restrictive policy to curb inflation. Their report recommended use of counter-inflationary monetary policies "even if the cost should prove to be a significant increase in service charges on the Federal debt and a greater inconvenience to the Treasury in its sale of securities for new financing and refunding purposes." This move for counter-inflationary policies brought about the March, 1951, "accord" between the Treasury and the Federal Reserve System. Under their agreement federal reserve banks were empowered to restrict or ease credit as business conditions required. This freedom, however, was conditioned with an understanding that the system would support an orderly government bond market.

The second inflationary spurt in the postwar period came with the outbreak of the Korean War. This price rise was again supported by increased consumer and business demand for goods. Prices rose about ten per cent within one year. Bank loans expanded \$10 billion which supplied the monetary boost to inflation. The total Korean War inflation which lifted prices about fourteen per cent was again unrelated to full employment policies.

Thus, the inflations of the postwar period through 1952 were the historic war-related inflation supported by monetary expansion. If we are to find a causal relation between full employment policies and inflation in the postwar period, it must be since the beginning of 1953. The Federal Reserve System was now in full possession of its powers to use "ease" and "tightness" of credit to stabilize economic activity. By May, 1953, indications of another recession appeared. Within two months the System moved into "ease" of credit and by midsummer interest rates began to decline. Counter-depression policies were undertaken by government. In September the Treasury announced the intention of tax cuts in the personal income and excess profits taxes. In January, 1954, the President's Economic Report recommended broad tax reductions. Tax reductions for business and individuals amounted to over \$6 billion in 1954. Governmental expenditures were speeded up in some hard-pressed areas—shipbuilding, lead and zinc stock-piling, and selective channeling of government contracts. Further, the Defense Department rescheduled its expenditures for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1955. The processing of veterans and FHA housing loans was speeded up. The Agricultural Department was instructed to speed up construction of storage facilities for surplus grain.

These programs were effective, and by September, 1954, recovery began. By January, 1955, Federal Reserve and government policies changed to restriction. But already momentum had been set in motion for a long peacetime in-

flationary movement. In retrospect, it appears that the recession recovery programs were too vigorous with too much spending too late. The returning prosperity in 1955 ushered in an investment boom with inflationary prices. By mid-1955 Federal Reserve policy moved to vigorous restraint. Tax reduction proposals were successfully resisted. Stock-piling programs were reduced to legal minimums. However, Congress was still unwilling to take the further step of substantially increasing tax collections comparable to the \$6 billion reductions during the recession in 1954. Despite the anti-inflationary actions taken by government and the Federal Reserve System, prices rose an average of three per cent per year for the next three years.

It seems reasonable to conclude, then, that the first vigorous and effective use of counter-deflationary tools during a strictly peacetime period resulted in substantial inflation. The ensuing inflation continued throughout the prosperity period and to the end of the recession of 1957-1958. After prices leveled off in August, 1958, to March, 1959, they began an inflationary move despite moderately restrictive monetary policies and five successive increases in the rediscount rate. Thus, the record shows strong inflationary tendencies in spite of attempts to curtail them during the past six years.

But is the recent inflationary movement caused by the same factors as past inflations—excessive demand and expansionary monetary policies? Past inflations commonly had much less monetary restraint than was used in the period 1955-1957 and since 1958. A number of economists and others feel there are new elements in recent inflations. They believe that because of a structural change in our economy from free market pricing to the administered pricing system that rising cost of wages due to labor unions and monopolistically set prices by industry cause, or are a contributing factor, in the inflationary process. They have de-

scribed this new type of inflation as "cost-push" as distinguished from the monetary-caused type of inflation termed "demand-pull."

According to the theory of "demand-pull" inflation the strength of demand causes rising prices. Prices rise because producers know that they can raise their price and the consumer will still buy their product. In periods when backlogs of orders occur, businessmen can feel reasonably assured that the demand is at least currently greater than supply and that their goods will be purchased at a higher price. In such periods, likewise, labor feels that increased wage demands can be absorbed in the market without increased unemployment. "Demand-pull" inflation is caused by easy credit policies. It results from government deficit spending and credit expanded purchases of business and consumers. It is easily understood how inflation by "demand-pull" would increase prices from excess credit when price is competitively determined, such as the price of wheat in a free market. But when prices are determined by a group of officers in a corporation, as is common today, is the price set on basis of the strength of money demand or by costs of production? Do corporations set the price of their product on basis of what the public will pay for it or do they rather raise price because the cost of wages has risen? Further, if management raises price because of increased wage cost, it must be assumed that they will raise price even if the public greatly reduces purchases of the company's product. Such a conclusion would appear absurd. It is more likely and appears more common that business will rather resist wage increases when they believe it will be impossible to pass these costs on to the buying public. If, in fact, they raise price only when they feel it will not ultimately hurt their sales, the real cause of price rises is "demand-pull." But whether price increases are due to increased spending power which adds to demand

or whether prices are raised because of increased costs, full employment policies may contribute to both.

We now analyze successively whether strong unions raise wages more than nonunions, causing inflation from a labor cost basis and whether business profits likewise become a cost in the inflationary price spiral. By examining leading empirical studies we hope to arrive at some conclusions. Sumner Slichter recently made a study which compares the increases in wages relative to wholesale price changes from 1843 to 1953. He found some indication that wages have risen comparatively faster since the growth of strong unions. Another approach to this problem compares the rate of rise of nonunion wages with that of union wages. Paul Douglas in his book, *Real Wages in the United States, 1890-1926*, found greater cyclical fluctuations in total payroll wages (union and nonunion wages) than in union wages. During this period there was a tendency for union wages to rise more slowly in periods of business expansion than for payroll wages. Data further revealed a tendency for union wages to fall more slowly in periods of recession. Evidence showed that when competition for labor is high without unions, employers competing for labor caused substantial wage increases.

A more recent comparison is made by H. M. Levinson in *Unionism, Wage Trends, and Income Distribution, 1914-1947*. His study of seven periods finds differing comparative rises of union to nonunion wages. In only one of the seven periods did union wages rise faster than nonunion. This was the period 1923-1929 when unions as a whole were tightly contained and only the stronger ones survived. The reason for this fact may be that union organization being generally suppressed caused employers little fear of unionization and therefore they did not attempt to maintain union wage scales. In the two periods of 1914-20 and 1941-47, nonunion wages rose faster than union. But the fact that the gains by nonunion plants were relatively greater in the

first of these two periods may reflect the growing strength of unionism. However, the faster rise of nonunion wages in these periods substantiates the belief that in periods of strong competitive demands for labor, nonunion wages rise faster. The other periods covered by this study show that from 1933 to World War II union and nonunion wages rose at about the same rate, and in both of the depression periods, 1920-1923 and 1929-33, union wages fell less than nonunion. Another study which compared wage differentials of union and nonunion plants in seven industries found no significant difference in wages of union and nonunion plants in 1950.

Several conclusions seem clear. First, union wages decline less in periods of depression. Second, in periods of high prosperity and sharply rising prices, union wages lag behind nonunion. Third, as of 1950, nonunion plants had gained wage levels comparable to union plants. It may be argued, however, that wages in nonunion plants are raised to meet the union scale to prevent entry of the union.

Though economists disagree on this point, many contend that the existence of unions holds back wage increases in inflationary periods such as 1946-1949. One reason for this belief lies in the fact that union contracts are made for a year or more and their wages do not increase over the course of the year as is true of unorganized labor. Further, it is argued that management is unwilling to grant as large increases because of the difficulty of lowering union wages in the event of depression.

Can we make any broad conclusion, then, on trade unionism as a cause of inflation? Except for Slichter's analysis, the above studies indicate that unions have been a relatively minor factor in inflations through 1952. Labor unions were a negligible element in the inflations of the past—the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, the Civil War, and World War I. Neither were they a significant factor in inflations in Europe after World War I. Nor were they sig-

nificant in the inflations after World War II in Hungary, Austria, Germany, Italy, France, China, or Japan. Evidence is likewise present that they were not prominent in our inflations from 1946 to 1949 or from 1950 to 1952. All of these greater inflations were related rather to improper money management.

If unions have been an inflationary factor since World War II, such has been the case only since 1953. If unions have been inflationary since 1953, the cause lies in the union drive to get a larger share of the national income—a larger share of the national pie. But a bigger piece of pie must come out of productivity gains or reduced profits, if inflation is to be avoided. Obviously, management is reluctant to give up income for labor gains. It is highly doubtful whether business would grant wage increases if a question of reducing their profits were at stake. Statistics reveal that the growth of trade unionism has not reduced the rate of profits.

Estimates of corporation return on investment after taxes as a whole appear to be as large in the postwar period as during the twenties. Also, in the larger companies where unionism is particularly strong, profit rates after taxes appear to be gaining. A study by the Brookings Institution conducted by A. D. H. Kaplan (*Pricing in Big Business*) selected twenty large representative companies out of the one hundred largest industrial corporations in the U. S. The principal pricing objectives of these companies were found to be as follows: (1) a target return on investment (the most frequently expressed objective), (2) price stabilization, (3) maintenance of their share of the market, and (4) charging what the market would bear, or the maximum long-run return. Of the ten firms which were price leaders in their industry, eight gave target return on investment as their chief goal. The target return on investment for these companies ranged from ten to twenty-six per cent for the

period 1947-1955. The Brookings study selected only one company, the U. S. Steel Corporation, to compare postwar returns with the twenties. The average return on investment for this corporation for the entire period from 1920 to 1958 was eight per cent. Since 1955, it was over ten per cent. But most enlightening on their shift in after-tax investment return was the comparison of the rate of return in years when the plant was being operated at the same capacity. The comparison shows that when their plant operated at the same per cent of capacity since 1950, as in years of the twenties, their after-tax return on investment ranged from two to five per cent higher in the fifties. Evidence in this single case illustrates that this company has been able to shift all increases of taxes and any increased wage costs unions may have been able to impose upon them. Though a sample of only one company is entirely inadequate to show broad changes, other findings of the study indicate that it is probably the rule. Of all the companies studied, the steel company was one of the lower ones in return on investment, about ten per cent during 1947-1955. Only one of the other ten leader companies had a return under ten per cent. The average for the ten companies was seventeen per cent, and the highest after-tax return on investment was made by DuPont and General Motors—26 per cent for the period 1947-1955.

In summary, at least, large companies have not absorbed wage increases out of their profits, but rather have passed them on to the public in the form of higher prices.

Other studies reveal that business organizations in wide areas have been strengthening their ability to establish their prices by administrative decision and lessening the effects of competitive price itself. Competition for a share of the market may be strong, but not on price. A recent Federal Trade Commission study of a large number of industries found prices administratively fixed, except in farm products,

foods, textiles, and lumber. Senate Judiciary Committee hearings on Antitrust and Monopoly in 1957-1958 substantiated these findings.

That a large number of prices are established by business decisions which aim at goal returns is evident. Therefore, if labor is successful in getting wage increases, these will customarily be added to prices. In effect, then, in this pricing process both labor and management are doing the same thing. Each is setting goal returns which together are greater than the increases in productivity. Higher prices are the result; the consumer is the victim. But where is the cause of inflation in this process? Is it labor and management seeking too much for themselves? Or is it the fact that government is committed to full employment policies and, since these policies are the same type of tool which generally caused inflation in the past, permits an escape by raising prices? Full employment policies permit business to increase prices to offset increased labor costs, taxes, or any other cost without ultimate fear of decreased sales. Evidence is accumulating that business and labor are thinking in this direction. The fact that prices moved upward almost five per cent during the 1957-58 recession strongly indicates that business felt that price increases would not eventually injure their sales. Apparently, they were assured that government would underwrite any unemployment which would occur through temporary overpricing.

Therefore, it appears that recent inflation has been a result of full employment policies facilitated by the process of modern negotiated wages and administered prices.

Before making our conclusions on the prospects of solving the problem of inflation with full employment, I wish to explore some of the effects of inflation. First, as is well-known, a rise in prices reduces the value of savings and fixed income. A rise in the price level of only one per cent

per year will cut purchasing power of the dollar by one-fifth in twenty-five years. A two per cent annual price rise reduces purchasing power by forty per cent in twenty-five years. For example, life insurance, pension funds, and other savings made today will lose over a third of their value in twenty-five years, at the rate of inflation during the past decade.

Second, inflation does not affect all income groups equally. If it did, it would not be so serious. Rises in prices hit middle and low income groups hardest—particularly unorganized or poorly organized groups and those who own very little property. Middle and high income groups are able to protect themselves by investment in real property, in business, or corporation stocks, all of which generally rise in value, offsetting the effects of inflation. Changes in income distribution caused by inflation will ultimately reduce purchasing power and create more pressure toward unemployment. Government will be required to resist this deflationary pressure with more deficit spending which will in turn increase the national debt.

Third, continued inflation will stimulate still further rises in interest rates. Investors will refuse to buy bonds even at current high rates of interest if at their maturity the principal is reduced by one-fourth or more of its initial value. Consequently, investors can be induced to buy bonds only if the interest rate is high enough to recoup this loss on principal. Undoubtedly, the rise in stock values since 1949 has been partially due to inflation. Investors, expecting inflation, have increasingly bought stocks. The Survey of Consumer Finances conducted by the Federal Reserve System found a definite increase in the percentage of investors who preferred stocks as a hedge against inflation after 1949. The rise in interest rates further increases the cost of the Federal debt, the cost of state and local capital expansion, and housing. The rise of the inter-

est rate also changes distribution of income, since low income groups are, on balance, an interest-paying group while high income groups are interest-receiving groups.

Fourth, inflation tends to reverse the direction of foreign trade. It tends to stimulate our imports and reduce our exports.

If inflation can be contained, the above effects will be minimized. But if the slight trend toward more serious recessions continues, effective full employment policies will have to be strengthened. From the record of full employment policies up to now, it appears that strengthened anti-depression policies would continue to make inflation a serious threat.

What are some of the possible solutions? I should like to suggest three. The first is an attempt to steer between the rocky shores of depression on the one side and inflation on the other. This course involves a refinement of full employment policies through more careful timing of anti-recession measures and the use of stronger anti-inflationary programs. This method may be able to keep both relatively high employment and contain inflation. More experience in the use of these tools may provide a working balance between recession and inflation. A number of economists hope this is possible. A. F. Burns, former Chairman of the President's Economic Advisors, expresses this view in his book *Prosperity Without Inflation*. But is this middle-of-the-road solution possible when business and labor know that any unemployment caused by their raising of wages and prices will be underwritten by government full employment policies?

A second possible solution is one of co-operation by labor and management. This would be a solution whereby management would agree not to raise prices, and labor and

management would limit their wage negotiations to a division of the share each should get from increased productivity. This would necessitate a change in attitude on the part of both. But can we expect maximizers of profit and wages to discard a "public-be-damned" attitude for one of "love thy neighbor as thyself"? However, there is a ray of hope in this area. Already West German labor unions refuse to re-elect labor leaders who demand wage increases above productivity gains. Back of this German austerity in labor union management, however, is the pressure of the necessity for international trade for a rising national income. Stable prices are for them close to a necessity if they are to be able to compete in the international market. But international trade is a much smaller part of our production and of less importance.

If the first two solutions prove unworkable, a third alternative is government interference with the wage and pricing process itself. Already A. F. Burns and others have suggested that the Employment Act should be amended to give government the responsibility to maintain stable prices as well as full employment. In the last session of Congress a bill was offered to require key industries to submit to hearings before a Congressional committee or a commission before prices could be raised.

However, at the present time the public mind is less concerned with the threat of inflation than with unemployment. The pinch of unemployment is keen and immediate. The hurt of inflation is more subtle. However, if inflation continues, more and more people are likely to react against it. This change in public thinking is ultimately likely to lead to more government resistance to inflation, which may seriously limit full employment policies themselves.

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The Ugly American: Two Views

FEW NOVELS in recent American publishing history have enjoyed the steady popularity of *The Ugly American* by William J. Lederer and Eugene Burdick. Before its publication in October, 1958, two printings had been exhausted and by April, 1959, the *fifteenth* printing was astounding the publishers, W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., book store proprietors, and the general reading public. Since the end of April *The Ugly American* has maintained a steady third position in the best-seller list reported by *The New York Times Book Review*. Only *Doctor Zhivago* and *Exodus* stood ahead of it then, and it was closely followed by *Lolita* in fourth place. At the end of June *Exodus* and *Doctor Zhivago* had changed places with each other and *Lady Chatterley's Lover* had risen to fourth place. As July ended the best-seller list began with *Exodus*, *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, *The Ugly American*, and *Doctor Zhivago*, in that order. At the end of October *Advise and Consent* and *Exodus* stood ahead of *The Ugly American* while *Lady Chatterley's Lover* had dropped to tenth place, *Doctor Zhivago* to fifteenth, and *Lolita* had disappeared from the list altogether. The last report before Thanksgiving showed *Advise and Consent*, *Exodus*, and *The Ugly American* leading the list with both *Doctor Zhivago* and *Lady Chatterley's Lover* no longer in competition.

While the editors of THE MIDWEST QUARTERLY are not about to undertake to explain American reading habits, they have been persuaded that some analysis of *The Ugly American* is quite worthwhile. Accordingly, they have sought out a number of men and women with some experience abroad and asked them to write their views on the book. In this issue two of these appear, the first by a professor of Far Eastern history at the University of Colorado, the second by a German-born professor of foreign languages here at Kansas State College of Pittsburg. Their points of view, readers will agree, are far apart; indeed, one needs to remind oneself that they are writing about the same subject. But let the reader judge for himself.

In the Far East

EARL SWISHER

FOR SEVERAL MONTHS after my return from Southeast Asia in 1958 I avoided reading *The Ugly American*, thinking that it was just another journalist capitalization on the popular theme of "Yanks go home," "the more we give away the more we are disliked and distrusted," "you can't buy friends," and "Americans are the most hated people in the world." Frankly, having just returned from two years residence in Asia with travel and study in twelve of the fifteen Asian nations, during which nobody asked me to "go home" and to the best of my knowledge no Asian hated me, this idea seemed distorted and unrealistic. Having read *The Quiet American* and been revolted by the prejudice and ignorance of an otherwise outstanding British novelist whom I admired when he wrote about problems and environments he knew something about, I was not interested in repeating the unpleasant experience.

When I was forced, out of pure self-defense, to read *The Ugly American*, I was considerably surprised. It was by no means the stereotype which I had formed in my own mind. On a journalistic and popular level, it is a study of American policy and programs in Southeast Asia. Because some of its characterizations might be slanderous, all the names are fictitious. This applies to both place names and personal names. The disguise, however, is rather thin, and anyone familiar with the area can easily identify that most of the incidents are laid in Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, and Thailand, with possibly an excursion to Ceylon. Most of the persons can also be identified, although they are sufficiently jumbled to avoid libel suits being brought against

the authors. After two years in Asia and travel in most of the new Asian nations, I felt that I could spot almost every one of the persons and incidents described and could agree wholeheartedly with the authors' praise or blame of them. When the most glaring of the blunderers was taken apart and the shining example of the heroes was lauded by the authors, both had my hearty "Amen." So I thoroughly enjoyed reading *The Ugly American* and readily recommend it to one and all. It is gratifying to find a book about American activities in Southeast Asia, or Free Asia as a whole for that matter, popular enough to be on the best seller lists and to be syndicated in major newspapers over the country. More power to you, Captain Lederer, and to you too, Mr. Burdick.

One of the things which surprised and pleased me about the book was that not all the persons and incidents were bad. Maybe, as in all morality plays, the devils are more colorful and conspicuous than the saints, but anyway, there are both. The "bad guys," to shift the analogy from morality plays to horse operas, are the political appointees and the stuffed shirts who go out to Asia for personal or political gain. They exploit policies and programs to their own selfish advantage. Others are just "stupes" who don't know and will not learn the local languages and regard all natives as "gooks." Americans are the only civilized people on earth, and the good old U. S. A. is God's country. Nor are these just stereotypes. The characters are reasonably well drawn and every reader can recognize somebody he knows in the Lions Club or on his own university faculty who thinks and acts just that way—and there's always the off-chance that this is the person who gets an assignment to Southeast Asia. Everybody will recognize the protocol-minded, striped-pants diplomat, the brassy public relations expert, the stock political appointee, and the condescending do-gooder. Unfortunately, they all exist, but obviously

they are not all in the foreign service. Some of them are still in the service clubs and on university faculties.

But over against these "bad guys" are the "good guys," who are also in the foreign service, in the economic missions, on engineering and technological projects, relief and welfare programs, and in various education projects in Asia. It is these examples which save the book from the Graham Green category of *The Quiet American*. These "good guys" go out to Asia with solid and practical training in their respective fields. They start out with a genuine empathy for Asian people, even the most backward of whom they are prepared to treat with respect and to deal with on terms of equality. They are even prepared to learn from them and ready to admit that they may be able to do some things better than Americans can. Starting out with empathy, they usually end up learning the language, understanding the customs, and respecting the religions of the people they live with. Some of these "good guys" even know how to work with their hands and are not afraid of getting them dirty. On diplomatic levels, they disdain striped pants, on the middle levels forego stuffed shirts, and on the lower levels they get right out with the common people and show them that they know how to swing a pick, push a wheelbarrow, and follow a plow. Certainly no one could fail to admire these paragons of American good will and marvel a little that we have been able to produce even a few of them. Every reader can readily picture himself in one of these modern Horatio Alger roles, even if not all of us could qualify specifically and even granting that not all overseas assignments require exactly these grass-roots qualities.

The biggest surprise of the book is the title. Surely, "the" ugly American could be no less than the greatest eight-ball of the lot, the arch-type American who blunders and insults his way through Asia like the traditional bull in the China shop. Probably some readers, like me, shied away from the

book because they were fed up with hearing about unpopular Americans, while others, more sadistically minded, were attracted by the title. Certainly, British lecturers in the United States have long since learned that he who insults most and scorns in faultless rhetoric and Oxonian accent all American claims to culture and literacy, will be most popular with ladies clubs and *The Saturday Review*. We simply eat it up. But if this is what you are looking for, as I was, you are doomed to disappointment.

As I finished reading *The Ugly American*, taking time out to reread several portions of it, assigning it as a required reading for my honors groups, and recommending it to all my friends, I began to have some sober reflections on it. There was no denying that all the eight-balls and all their bloopers were real. Everyone who has lived in Asia since 1945 has been embarrassed by their presence and has shuddered at their effect on Asian peoples and on American programs and policies. I felt that I might even be able to top some of the examples in the book if I had ambitions of becoming a popular lecturer or of making a living from writing. But I found that most of the good stories had been picked up by the very able authors of *The Ugly American*, and that I would probably end up with a very short book. I might scrape up enough dirt for one really popular lecture, but then I'd be stuck with finding new audiences, year after year, to deliver my single lecture to, at least until my next junket to Asia.

On the other hand, if I were satisfied to be unpopular, I found that I could think of quite a number of "good guys" who seemed to be doing reasonably effective jobs in Asia. There was the young man from Nebraska with whom I lunched in Seoul. He was in charge of the United States Information Service office for Korea and had been there eight years. In the process of informing Koreans about the United States, he had learned so much about Korean history and people and had become so absorbed in their

art and literature that he was affectionately called "Mr. Korea." He had learned a basic principle about selling the American way of life, *viz.*, you'd better understand and appreciate *their* way of life before you begin your pitch.

And there was our cultural affairs officer in the Tokyo embassy, whose knowledge of Japanese language, literature, history and art was the accumulation of a lifetime. He had written for the Japanese press, translated Japanese literature, taught in Japanese schools and was able to place American culture in a framework of understanding and appreciation of Japanese civilization which the cultivated and mature Japanese could understand. He was from Georgetown, Colorado. Then there was the American land reform and soils expert from Stanford University who laid the basis for the Japanese land reform instituted during the Occupation. His quiet work and practical planning were recognized by Japanese leaders as constituting the most fundamental revolution accomplished in the postwar period. The great majority of Japanese farmers were enabled to buy their lands, increase their production, and raise their standard of living to a degree hitherto believed to be impossible in any Asian country. Japanese government leaders placed the success of the land reform alongside the elevation of the status of Japanese women as the two most revolutionary contributions of the Occupation. Later this same Stanford professor moved on to Taiwan to institute a similar agrarian revolution there, under the auspices of JCRR (Joint Commission for Rural Rehabilitation). This was highly publicized on Taiwan by the "37 point 5" weddings—that is, poor farmers were enabled to marry and start families because of the reduction of rents from as high as 75 per cent of crops to a universally controlled 37.5 per cent by JCRR. With this beginning, land reform went on to set up land purchase plans, eliminate landlord holdings of large tracts of farm land, and increase farm production by improvement of rice strains, by better

irrigation and fertilization procedures, by deeper plowing, and by some gradual introduction of the simpler types of farm machinery. This over-all program, which was enthusiastically supported by the Chinese government and by Chinese farm experts, has resulted in the highest productivity per acre and the highest standard of living for the individual farmer in Taiwan of any country in Asia after ten years of operation.

The more I thought about the contributions of Americans to post-1945 Asia, the more examples came to my mind.

In Hong Kong I visited a relief agency conceived and supported by funds raised by an American congressman to help some of the thousands of Chinese intellectuals who have fled Communist China and seek resettlement and employment in the Free World. They represent only a fraction of the four millions who have escaped to Hong Kong since 1949, but their plight was real and their problem soluble. They were given immediate relief and then placed in jobs on Taiwan, the Philippines, Malaya, Singapore, or other places in Southeast Asia. Most of the refugees cannot be placed anywhere and must find employment in overcrowded Hong Kong or remain indefinitely in squalid refugee camps, supported by British, U. N., and American relief agencies. In Manila, there was a young man from San Francisco in a gray-flannel suit (tropical weight) who had been active in the Jaycees program there. He saw the need for more civic responsibility, better organization, and some practical idealism among the new generation of businessmen in the Philippines and started Jaycee groups in Manila and other cities. While I was in Taiwan, I was able to finance the fourth annual conference of Asian Jaycees in Taipei, and it was gratifying to see youthful executives from seven nations of Free Asia, headed by our young friend from San Francisco and a strong delegation from the Philippines, meet to discuss

the social and political responsibilities of the young businessmen in the progress and future development of Asia.

I think I was most impressed by the impact of American personalities, however, in Saigon, where the role of the United States in salvaging a free Vietnam from the jaws of Chinese and Vietmin Communism deserves much more credit than it has ever received. There was my good Jesuit friend, who was, I am sure, one of the "good guys" represented in *The Ugly American* under a thinly drawn disguise. Certainly he was one of the most dynamic and influential persons I have ever met. His work among the Chinese population of Vietnam—establishment of a Youth Center, publication of a newspaper and a magazine, operation of an orphanage and a school—has been an important factor in providing solid anti-Communist support for President Ngo Dinh-diem's Republic of Vietnam. He is an advisor and confidant of President Diem and probably one of the two or three most influential foreigners in Vietnam.

Also in Vietnam, there was another American land reform expert, this one of Russian birth and formerly an employee of the U. S. Government in Japan. Now he is serving as personal advisor to President Diem, sees him every day, and often represents him in important conferences. Under his guidance Vietnam is gradually developing a land program similar to those which have revolutionized agriculture in Japan and Taiwan. Here is an American who is both "quiet" and "ugly," working in a completely unofficial capacity to increase the productivity and develop stability in a small but crucial Southeast Asian country.

It would be possible to go on indefinitely in this vein, citing not only individual Americans who seem to be doing a good job, but also projects which appear to be both well suited to the needs of the particular country and well received by the people and government concerned. One is reminded of the huge earth dam in Afghanistan which

will irrigate almost a third of that barren country when it is completed in 1960; of the rural projects in India designed to increase productivity and transform agricultural village society; of library projects in Malaya and various types of university programs, under ICA, Ford, Rockefeller, and Asia Foundations, in every country of Free Asia, with faculty teams from most of the leading American universities.

But one example sticks in my mind. Soon after I returned to the United States I had occasion to visit the head of what is reputed to be the largest engineering firm in the world, engaged in construction projects from Afghanistan, to Africa, to Teheran, to Boise, Idaho. The elderly president of the company made a comment based on many years of practical engineering experience. He said it was comparatively easy to build dams and not too difficult to get competent engineers willing to work in far away countries, but that the real problem was to get engineers with the tact and patience to train local assistants to carry out the projects and to maintain them effectively after the job of construction was completed. He said his company had learned the hard way that unless technicians could understand and respect the peoples they were working with, had the empathy and skills of a school teacher, the engineering project could not be completed and would be of no use anyway. The more I have thought of this statement, the more convinced I am that Americans are learning something basic about dealing with under-developed countries.

If I had any adverse criticism of *The Ugly American*, I think it would be something like this. To some readers it may leave the impression that American policy and responsibility in Free Asia depends upon some twelve people—roughly six “bad guys” who give us a bad name and cause Asian peoples to hate us and want us to go home, and six “good guys” who try their best to make up for the goofs of their opposite numbers. These “ugly Americans”

learn the native languages, try to understand local problems, cut red tape and deal directly and practically with the people. If this impression is given it does to some extent misrepresent the proportions and the significance of the American effort. With this in mind, I tried to figure, without the aid of official statistics and purely on the basis of personal observation over the past two years, how many Americans are working in Asia. It was certainly not twelve, or a hundred, or twelve hundred, or even twelve thousand.

As I totaled up one country after another, I figured that there must be over 100,000 Americans, not including troops, working to carry out American policy, implement American aid, advise and assist Asian peoples and governments on every conceivable level, in the fifteen nations which constitute Free Asia. These people are diplomats, clerks, teachers, engineers, farmers, missionaries, social workers, propagandists, technicians, military advisers and trainers, and so forth. They are highly selected and often specially trained for their jobs. Many of them have become professional foreign service personnel in the new, broadened meaning of "foreign service." Often the wives and other dependents of these people are also teaching, doing volunteer social work and generally contributing to the American "mission"—as the combined effort of the United States Embassy in any given country is now described. As I have met and worked with these new American cosmopolitans, they are a dedicated, well-trained, and efficient group—with, of course, the usual, occasional exception.

Besides the scale of the American effort, it may be that *The Ugly American* also fails to give adequate expression of its significance. If the new nations of Asia are to survive, if they are to maintain their hard-won independence, develop industry, raise standards of living, educate their people, and realize their cultural and intellectual potentialities, they must have outside aid and guidance. In most cases their only hope is the United States. Europe cannot

help them, and the threat of envelopment in the new imperialism of Communism turns them away from Russia and China. They can only turn to us, and it is to us that they are turning. It is no exaggeration to say that what we do or fail to do will determine the success or failure of Free Asia.

Nor should the impression be left that the stakes in this large-scale effort of Americans in Asia are small. Free Asia comprises more than 780 million peoples—just about equal to the combined populations of the U. S. S. R. and Communist China.

European Reflections

HANS BEERMAN

THIS IS NOT INTENDED to be a review of *The Ugly American*. The writer has not traveled in the East for more than fifteen years, and thus cannot judge the effectiveness of American programs and personnel there. I have met, however, quite a number of American officials of the Foreign Service during my stay in Germany, France, Spain, and Austria while I worked for a German export house and later on during study and travel assignments. This article will only deal with generalities and is written as an analysis of some psychological reasons as to why the meeting of minds between American and European officials of their respective Foreign Services is often thwarted.

Recently, Francois Mauriac, French Nobel Prize laureate for literature, and one of the world's most outstanding Catholic novelists remarked in an article, "Notes on America," about his meeting one of the most beloved, respected and most typical American men of distinction: "Progress in . . . the United States does not appear to be going in the direction of inner life. . . . I had the honor one day of lunching at the same table as the very likable Cardinal Spellman, but my whole being drew back: most probably I would have felt closer to the Dalai Lama." Nearly all European foreign service officials, when queried about a similar but typical lack of communication with their American colleagues, agree about the existence of an invisible wall that stands between American and European thought processes and relationships. It is a gulf of estrangement, not of a personal but of a cultural nature.

It goes without saying that a culture can best be compared to a pair of tinted glasses through which a man eyes the world. His *Weltanschauung* is generally based on the values furnished him by the particular culture he comes from. Every metaphysical relationship in the whole gamut of human experience of perception, cognition, conation and volition "makes sense" only to the individual according to the value system of the culture in which he has being. Few are the foreign and American civil servants who are sophisticated enough to adapt themselves in their feeling to a foreign frame of values. What is it then in the American cultural climate that alienates its representatives from their European counterparts?

Here are three ideas that most European officials mention when asked about troubles regarding comity between themselves and American representatives. I shall take them up in order of importance.

I. *Differential Value Patterns*: The basic value pattern of the highly educated European (official) is based on classical humanism. European upper class children generally study the classic writers in Latin by the time they are ten years of age. By the time they are mature, they are thoroughly grounded in humanistic values. American officials abroad are usually products of our state universities and most often view the world through a curious mixture of positivism and pragmatism. More often than not they are also exponents of our special American brand of Anglo-Saxon puritanism. While Europeans do their best to come to terms with the first two "philosophies," they are bewildered and at a loss when it comes to understand the last one. Though the late John Foster Dulles was respected in Europe, few minds could follow him abroad, particularly when he started what they referred to as "preaching." The reason that Europeans cannot understand our type of Christianity is that it is enmeshed with the crassest egotistic economic competition the world has

ever witnessed. "The major forms of American Christianity today agree in the theory that God's grace that is bestowed upon an individual, can be measured directly by the degree of material success attained by that person" rightly remarks Hermann von Keyserling (*Reisetagebuch eines Philosophen*, 822). Europeans refuse to consider Christianity as anything more than a road to the life spiritual; they insist that it has little to do with the complex problems of a *Realpolitik*; and as far as the marriage of the ideas of a suffering Christ with progress or "Pealism" is concerned, they throw up their hands in unbelief and bewilderment. For such a transmutation of values they are not prepared, and a stalemate of thought ensues which often results in a breakdown in communication. Charges that Americans are hypocrites are quite commonly made, and though they are false, often destroy confidence, particularly during negotiations.

Another Nobel Prize laureate, our own Pearl S. Buck, some years ago pointed out that one of the major contributing factors to the loss of China to the Communists was our highly inflammable mixture of business with religion. In a speech at the State University of Iowa she mentioned the sad fact "that we lost China because the people of that nation were greatly disappointed with the dealings of American businessmen who followed our Christian missionaries, who had unwillingly prepared the way for them." As far as the positivist-pragmatic value context is concerned, the rest of the world feels with the vice president of India and most distinguished Eastern philosopher, S. Radhakrishnan, that "its defect is in the narrow view of teleology which it adopts. The criterion of working must be applied in the larger context of the whole experience. The idea has value if it works . . . not for a temporary purpose, but for the whole relevant situation. It must satisfy critical intelligence." It is evident then that at the bottom of many of our misunderstandings is the clash be-

tween American value structures with classical humanism as practiced in Europe.

II. *Lack of a Public Philosophy*: This ties in with the ideas of a positivism and pragmatism expressed above. In negotiations between American and Foreign officialdom, often a point is reached where Europeans on the policy level are greatly irritated by the lack of statements concerning a public philosophy of the United States. They believe that any society depends on such a philosophy for purpose and direction. It has sometimes been said that the purpose of a democracy is to have no purpose. No one in Europe will subscribe to such a tautology anymore, particularly not in this atomic age. Max Ways, a senior editor of *Life Magazine*, has just written a most significant book on this subject entitled *Beyond Survival* which is a diagnosis that goes to the root causes of this dilemma. He believes that "the error into which American society has fallen is positivism, the doctrine that only the world revealed by science is real, while the world of abstract ideas (morality and justice) is essentially make-believe." He points out that abroad our policies, as for instance "unconditional surrender," could only confuse foes and friends alike. "There is a school of American thought that shuns any attention to purpose. It wants us to concentrate upon means, improvising from crisis to crisis, doing whatever at any moment looks as if it might be effective. The decision to demand the unconditional surrender of the enemy was a typical product of this inability to think in terms of moral purpose. Any serious discussion of conditions of enemy surrender would have required that the U. S. make up its mind what it wanted to do with victory. We evaded this discussion." It is this lack of purpose, which in the conference rooms destroys *l'esprit pur* of negotiations in the moment Americans take part in deliberations, a famous French pundit recently remarked.

III. *Lack of Educational Background*: This is the third and last objection that often comes from European leaders regarding American personnel. In Europe civil servants are recruited more than carefully for foreign duty. They come from the best of families, are endowed with the high ethic of the Middle Ages, and finally have the classic culture as a living background. They are the intellectual elite and have had the best humanistic type of education since the age of ten. They are mostly Ph. D.'s and have been trained in special foreign service institutes. During World War II treaty discussions it became evident that there was a distinct *lacuna* of geographical knowledge and general all-around information among American leaders on the policy level—a situation that brought about the disastrous Oder-Neisse agreements. This lack of information is compounded by the lack of fluency in understanding and speaking of foreign languages among American personnel. The late Secretary Dulles recently observed that “interpreters are no substitute. It is not possible to understand what is in the minds of other people without understanding their language, and without understanding their language it is impossible to be sure that they understand what is on our minds.”

One of the best statements recently made abroad summarizes in one sentence the general feeling-tone towards America found among European leaders. They compare the U. S. Department of State with the mysterious castle out of a Kafka novel whose dim outline rises from time to time against an empty sky.” Only a poetic work of fiction like *The Castle* by Kafka can give us an insight into the complex reality of international relations. *The Ugly American* falls short of this purpose.

looking forward . . .

A PROGRESS REPORT to our stockholders seems required at this point. As the excerpts from sundry congratulatory letters published earlier in this issue indicate, the initial issue of *THE MIDWEST QUARTERLY* was blessed with a good measure of complimentary comments. As a matter of fact, the only critical comment had to do with the absence of a table of contents. This has been corrected.

Even more substantial encouragement has come to us in the form of subscriptions of every kind and shape. As we had hoped, response by the faculty of Kansas State College of Pittsburg has been very good, and by Thanksgiving a good percentage had subscribed. This group contains representatives of every department in the college including administrative personnel, members on leave, and the retired list. Our students, too, have subscribed in good number and so have our alumni, particularly those teaching in high schools, junior colleges, and colleges from Fort Scott, Kansas, to Cheney, Washington. Another important and growing category of subscribers includes schools, colleges, and universities from Maryland, New Jersey, and New York to Texas, South Dakota and California. To augment our list, Dr. Floyd Meyer, Director of Porter Library here, has been most co-operative in securing exchange agreements with other colleges and universities from Delaware and South Carolina to Michigan and Colorado.

Extremely helpful in the planning and organization of future issues have been numerous queries from people with manuscripts ready to go or with research completed on articles to be written. Several manuscripts on a variety of subjects have already reached this office and are being examined critically by the editorial staff with a view to the possibility of their publication in subsequent issues of our journal. Scarcely a day has passed since the first issue arrived on this campus without a batch of mail containing checks, subscription coupons, purchase orders, claim vouchers, and requests for quotations. *THE MIDWEST QUARTERLY* seems to be becoming a moderately successful enterprise.

This is all by way of informing our readers that we seem to be in a good way of going. Certainly, as more subscriptions come in day

after day, and as more manuscripts and offers of manuscripts reach this desk, the future looks bright. Perhaps this is the place to repeat our earlier announcement that THE MIDWEST QUARTERLY welcomes communications from its readers, comments on its articles, and suggestions and/or manuscripts for future publication.

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